

M E M O I R S

OF 613. h. 25

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

D U K E OF S U L L Y,

PRIME MINISTER TO

H E N R Y THE G R E A T.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,

And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the
FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added, the Tryal of RAVAILLAC for the
Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY,
in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLVII.

M. F. M. S.

OF

MAXIMILIAN OF BRITAIN

AND HIS OWN ADMINISTRATION UNDER HIM

THE HISTORY OF THE

HENRY THE GREAT

CONTAINING

The History of the Life and Reign of Maximilian

And his own Administration under Him

Translated from the French, by the Author of the
F. M. S. Q. U. I. N. T.

To which is added, the Trial of Ravaillac for the

Murder of Henry the Great

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

LONDON

Printed by A. Millar, in the Strand, N. and J. Dodsley,
in Pall-Mall, and W. Johnston, in New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLXXII.

A
S U M M A R Y
O F T H E

Books contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the THIRTEENTH
BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1602. Foreign princes at Paris. Henry IV. goes to Blois: the occasion of his journey. An account of marshal Biron's conspiracy: a council held at Blois upon this occasion. A design formed to arrest the dukes of Epemon and Bouillon: the first clears his conduct; the great art and address of the second. Quarrel between the king and queen: Henry's conversation with Rosny upon this subject. The effects of Henry's journey into the provinces: he resolves to have Biron arrested: particulars of his and the count d'Auvergne's imprisonment; and of Biron's trial and execution: Rosny's behaviour throughout this affair. Henry pardons the baron de Lux, and the count d'Auvergne, who again betrays him: reasons why he behaved in this manner to the count d'Auvergne. The prince of Joinville arrested: the king pardons him also; but he is confined in prison. The duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court. The courtiers endeavour to raise suspicions in Henry against Rosny: curious conversations betwixt them on this occasion. Affair of the advocates: discourse of Sigogne. Edicts and regulations upon the coin,

commerce, finances, &c. Mines discovered in France. Edict against duels. The alliance with the Swifs renewed. Journey of Henry to Calais. Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch ; and other foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the FOURTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1603. Troubles at Metz : Henry goes thither and banishes the Sobolles : other affairs transacted in this journey. Memorial against the cardinal d'Ofsat : examination of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal. Affairs of the Low Countries. Intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calvinists. Death of Elizabeth. James I. king of Great Britain. Henry's return : his conversation with Rosny upon the death of Elizabeth : resolves to send Rosny ambassador to London : deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embassy. Indisposition of the king. Public and private instructions given to Rosny : his departure with a numerous retinue. Character of young Servin. Rosny embarks at Calais ; insulted by the vice-admiral of England : his reception at Dover ; at Canterbury, &c. he is received in London with the highest honours : his severity in the affair of Combaut. State of the political affairs of Great Britain. Character of the English : of king James : of the queen, &c. Several factions at this court. Rosny's conferences with the English counsellors ; with the deputies of the States General ; with the resident from Venice, &c. He obtains his first audience : he is concerned at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

S U M M A R Y.

iii

SUMMARY of the FIFTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of Rosny's embassy to London: detail of what passed at his first audience: public conversationso f the king of England with him, upon different subjects. Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negotiation. Dispositions of the different courts of Europe. Rosny's first conference with the English ministers. Intrigues of Spain. Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with king James: he persuades him to support the United Provinces: other affairs transacted between them: his second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation. Imprudent proceedings of count d'Artemberg. Third audience. Rosny admitted to the table of the king of England: public conversations on different subjects. Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United Provinces. Artifice and perfidy of Cecil. Fourth audience: private conversations with king James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV. and Elizabeth; and endeavours to gain his approbation of them: a short abstract of these designs: James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour.

SUMMARY of the SIXTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of the embassy and negotiations of Rosny at the court of London. Form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty: substance of this treaty. Dispatches from Rosny intercepted. Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with king James: presents which he makes in London: his

return : dangers at sea : his reception from Henry IV. public conversation between them on the subject of his negotiation. Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries. Rosny resumes his labours in the finances. Henry supports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the count de Soissons : he entertains the king at Rosny. Journey of Henry into Normandy : what passed in this journey. Mutiny of the protestants of the assembly of Gap. Rosny made governor of Poitou. Establishment of the silk manufactory in France : conversations on this subject, in which Rosny endeavours to dissuade Henry from this design. Remarks on his opinion of wearing silk, and on other parts of luxury. A colony settled at Canada.

SUMMARY of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1604. Medals presented to his majesty by Rosny. Death of the duchess of Bar : particulars concerning her death, and the disputes which it occasions. Deliberations upon the re-establishment of the jesuits. Conversations of Rosny with Henry, and the arguments which he urges against their re-establishment : the conditions upon which they are recalled : protection granted them by Henry. Father Cotton makes his court to Rosny. Memorial against cardinal D'Ossat. Sentiments of Rosny not favourable to this cardinal or the policy of the catholics. Treachery of Nicolas L'Hôte ; how discovered : particulars upon this subject. Villeroy's conduct examined. Rosny's sentiments upon the difference of religion. Promotion of cardinals, and affairs of Rome. Curious conversation of Henry with Rosny, upon the domestic disorders occasioned by the queen and the marchioness of Verneuil.

SUM-

S U M M A R Y.

SUMMARY of the EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1604. Continuation of the preceding article, upon the disquiets and domestic quarrels of Henry IV. Rosny endeavours to put an end to them: the risk he run upon this occasion from the queen and the marchioness of Verneuil; her malignity. Wise and disinterested conduct of queen Margaret. Faction of the protestants and seditious in the kingdom. Henry's journey to the provinces designed and prevented. Rosny visits his government: how received at Rochelle, at Poitiers, &c. Hatred of the protestants against him: other particulars and advantages of this journey: his reception from Henry at his return. Justification of the duke d'Epemon: falsely accused. New intrigues of the count d'Auvergne: means used by Henry to have him arrested: letters which he received and wrote to him: an account of his being seized: his trial. The marchioness of Verneuil is likewise arrested: Rosny is employed to interrogate her: he can, neither by advice nor intreaties, persuade Henry to banish her from France. Weakness of this prince for his mistress.

SUMMARY of the NINETEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1604. Henry IV. deposits his treasure in the Bastille: a council held on this occasion. Considerations and maxims of Rosny upon government: means he makes use of to recover money. *Verification of rents*: other operations and tail of the finances. Regulations of the police and army. Establishment of a military hospital. The talents and abilities of Henry IV. for government. Causes of the
the

SUMMARY.

the weakness of states. Rupture between France and Spain, on account of commerce. Peace restored by Rosny, by means of a treaty : particulars and substance of the treaty. Farther account of the affairs of the United Provinces, of Spain, and of England. Agreement and treaty between the two last powers. Causes of the discontent of the United Provinces against England. The constable of Castile comes to Paris : his conversation with the king. Other conversations between Henry and Rosny concerning this ambassador. Erroneous maxim of Rosny's on the Salic law. Introduction to the execution of Henry's great designs. Affairs of the Grisons, and of the fort of Fuentes : proceedings of the French, and other particulars on this affair. Dispute with the Pope on the subject of the bridge of Avignon ; terminated by Rosny in favour of the king. The acquisition of the earldom of Saint-Paul : prudent advice given by Rosny to Henry on this occasion. Religious orders established in France.

SUMMARY of the TWENTIETH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1605. Conclusion of the process against the counts of Auvergne and Entragues. Complaisance and weakness of Henry IV. for the marchioness of Verneuil. The jesuits procure the demolition of the pyramid. Great dispute between Rosny and father Cotton, on the subject of the college of Poitiers : defends himself against the calumnies of his enemies : his reconciliation with father Cotton ; he quarrels with the duke d'Epemon and Grillon : their reconciliation. Instances of the fantastical humour of Grillon. New calumnies against Rosny, by which he is in danger of being disgraced. An affecting conversation with Henry, in which they are reconciled : an interesting detail of this whole affair. Other

S U M M A R Y.

vii

attempts of Rosny's enemies to ruin him: marriage of his daughter with the duke of Rohan. Henry refuses to give the *lieutenance-de-roi* of Saint-Jean d'Angely to the duke of Rohan: other favours and gratuities granted and refused to Rosny by the king. Henry's design to marry mademoiselle de Melun to the marquis of Cœuvres.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

OF

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIII.

A GITATED as the minds of the people were, by all those domestic insurrections we have seen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from resigning themselves, this winter, to their accustomed pleasures and shews. By the queen's order, and for her amusement, a magnificent interlude was composed : the arsenal was the place the king chose for the representation of these shews, on account of the conveniency its spacious apartments afforded, both for the actors and spectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the necessary orders at the arsenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its representation ; but the king chose rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

Towards the middle of Lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or

1602. fifty horse: the king ordered the same honours to be paid him that the marechal de * Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, son to the marquis of Brandenburg, staid likewise some time at Paris. It was not usual to defray the expences of persons of his rank, especially, as it was observed by his majesty, if they did not follow the court: but the king was resolved to shew a particular respect to a prince, whose family, one of the most illustrious in Germany, had always professed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to send him every day, in his majesty's name, presents of the richest wines, and provisions for his table.

When every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majesty, in the several journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the necessary orders for securing peace and tranquillity in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as those through which he was to pass, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her household accompanied his majesty in this journey; I likewise attended him, but did not set out till a few days after: the king sent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of staying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than necessary for a regimen that was prescribed him by his physicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it lasted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewise was the most proper city he could chuse to discover the secret practices of marechal Biron: Henry had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making those discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal

* Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, 1602. Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the schemes for surprizing the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to disgust the people with the present government (the same which I have already mentioned) made up part of these advices, to which the following new informations were added.

The seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commissaries that had been sent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself, in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be every where received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than some rents ill paid from the town-house of Paris; and, lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raise (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permission to levy) and the revocation of the drawbacks granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts.

Thus was this good prince represented, throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst

1602. the protestant officers and gentry: to the first they represented, that this treasure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the second, that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garrisons, the funds for the preservation of their cities, the pensions of their leaders, their officers and ministers, would be lessened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be so much the less difficulty in depriving them of all their fortresses, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the protestants from all public offices and employments, by refusing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs against the persons of the conspirators had been as clear as those of their plots, the king might have that instant given free course to his justice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet less certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the most there were only suspicions, though those indeed were very strong against them: the other lords of the court, whose names, to the number of eight, were found in the list, might be well ranged under a third class of persons, whose doubtful conduct required some explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epemon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majesty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themselves a proof of their real sentiments, by attentively observing the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began first with d'Epemon. A just regard to truth has so often reduced me to the necessity of speaking disadvantageously of this nobleman, that it is with a real satisfaction I seize this opportunity of shewing his innocence, and giving him the praise he deserves.

D'Epemon

D'Epernon hearing whispers about the court of 1602. intrigues and cabals, easily apprehended that, as it is usual to judge of the present by the past, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongst those that were called enemies to the state; for which reason he took the precaution to renew to his majesty at Fontainebleau his assurances of fidelity: these assurances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step he still continued to suspect him, and because d'Epernon in speaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between him and the duke, letting me know, at the same time, that d'Epernon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I obeyed the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Epernon's innocence: he said the same to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of some commotions and secret intrigues, but said that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his person, as a security for his own fidelity, during six months;

1602. and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to him that he would not quit him till his suspicions were entirely erased. The king could have no objection to so reasonable a proposition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Epemon was guiltless.

The duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity: on the first mention his majesty made of the plot to him, he treated it as a calumny invented by spies and informers, against the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own services, and appear at least to gain the money that was given them to exercise this employment: to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majesty, he added an application of a passage in the New Testament, *It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come*; a passage, which, if taken in its true sense, might have been with more justice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not stop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the protestants, complained of their being oppressed with imposts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happiness increased, they became poor and miserable; that, besides these general complaints, he had in a certain place, heard protestants say, that sooner or later it would be their destiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuisance of the state, that both they and their children would be hated, persecuted, and proscribed, that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to these reports, because that persons of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor consulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new imposts that were established, they could not inform the people of the true motive of those resolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attri-

attribute them to any thing but to a design to en- 1602.
slave them.

It was sufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, sought to insinuate to the king, that all these reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppressed with a multitude of taxes; and that this seeming discontent was put on to conceal from his majesty his real sentiments: but the insolence and the severity of his expressions shewed plainly enough that he could not resist this opportunity of discharging some part of his malice; he even added, with the same subtilty, and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to persuade himself, that his majesty intended to abolish the privileges of his viscounty of Turenne, and to purchase the rights and claims of the house of Mark, upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing else, he had only replied, that he was persuaded the king would never act in such a manner, on account of the services he had at all times received from the protestant body; he finished by protesting to his majesty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the seditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom should be as true as he believed them false, yet it should never lessen his duty and fidelity.

The king, dissembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this discourse, made him a proposal of the same nature with that which the duke of Epemon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion: he told the duke, that he was satisfied with this assurance, and that he would no longer preserve any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epemon had offered, which was not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his coun-

1602. cils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his solicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both the protestants and catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his majesty discovered for him; and as to the proposal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himself into a condition to satisfy it, not for six months only, but for his whole life if necessary, by taking a journey throughout all his estates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long stay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majesty required, he reserved, nevertheless, the power of doing only what he pleased himself, and of making a plausible excuse for the sudden departure he was meditating.

Henry, comprehending his design, resolved to call a secret council to deliberate upon the measures that were necessary to be taken in this conjuncture.

The count of Soissons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maïsse, and myself, were all that were present at this council: all other affairs were postponed till Descares was heard, who had been sent by his majesty to invite marechal Biron to court, and whose report was such, that it was unanimously resolved to arrest this marechal and the count of Auvergne as soon as they arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epemon, before they left the court: almost all the counsellors were of this opinion, and the most distinguished amongst them qualified it no otherwise, than by saying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, because that acting nothing by himself, he would easily be reduced to reason, when he was separated from those who hurried him on to his ruin,

* Peter Fougeu, lord of Descares.

I took particular notice of this advice upon account 1602.
of its singularity: mine, however, was directly opposite; I could not approve of the arresting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon: if in such cases suspicions were to serve for proofs, it was likewise necessary, I said, to arrest all whom La Fin had accused, and myself the first; that in case they should afterwards be found innocent, they would, by this precipitate action, lose an opportunity of seizing Biron and Auvergne, whose treasons were manifest, since it would be impossible to arrest them all at the same time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing against the prisoners. The arresting of Bouillon and Epernon, I added, would have this farther ill consequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majesty could not dispense with himself from treating them as traitors, through a just fear of what their resentment only of such a public outrage might induce them to act against him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majesty being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a crowd of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence which I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number, because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court; but those whose consciences are clear need not have recourse to that expedient."

"I am

1602. " I am one of these," added Epemon; " and I
 " am resolved not to leave the court while these dis-
 " contents continue." " You cannot do better,
 " monseigneur," replied I; " and I promise you,
 " that, on this occasion, you shall not lose the
 " merit of having taken so good a resolution."

When I came home, I ordered my *maitre d'bo'el* not to furnish my table as usual, but to serve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in just as I was sitting down to table: " Come wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given, " and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses, and eaten a hasty morsel, ask for the fruit, and, at the same time, order my horse to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleased at this order. " *Pardieu*, " monsieur," said he, " I am not surprised that you " pass for one of the wisest noblemen in France; I " don't know one who can drink three glasses dur- " ing the whole time you are at dinner." " Well, " well, monsieur Nicolas," replied I, " do you make " an end of your dinner, as for me I have bu- " siness that calls me elsewhere."

I related to his majesty what d'Epemon had said to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epemon had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by persons, whose religion and disposition were different from his, by which likewise, while he had no advantages to hope for, he run the hazard of being stripped of his estates and employments. D'Epemon had judgment enough to know that the scheme of these rebels was likely to be a fatal one. " Not," said the king,

* Simon Nicolas was the king's secretary, " a poet, a facetious man, and an old offender, says the Journal of Henry IV. believing in God only for interest, and, for this reason, he became the more acceptable to company,

" according to the corrupt man-
 " ners of those wretched times.
 " He died two years after, in the
 " 70th year of his age, in his last
 " illness expressing himself with
 " infamous impiety."

" that

“ that probably in his heart he is not glad of these disorders, that he may become more necessary to me; but he knows by experience such designs are often blasted.” His majesty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to stay at court, but to wait till he went to Poitiers, because he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I used my utmost endeavours for this purpose, in the presence of messieurs de La Nouë, de Constant, d’Aubigne, and de Preax, but all were ineffectual.

During their majesties stay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under some perplexity in relating, for it made too much noise to be passed over in silence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, lest I should betray the secret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it personally concerned; the medium therefore which I shall observe, is to recount only so much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported that the king and queen had some difference together, which was confirmed by the king’s sending Armagnac * for me so early in the morning, that he was still in bed, as well as the queen, and, contrary to their usual custom, each in their several apartments. It was observed that I had been several times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been seen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain some great favour of them. As nothing in such cases escapes the inquisitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon these circumstances, as also that with the names of the king and queen, they heard those of the duke and duchess of Florence, and Mantua, Virgil Urfin, Don John, Bellegrade, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine, Selvage, and the mar-

* First gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

1602.  chionefs of Verneuil ; other perfons, they faid, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to difcover something by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often bufinefs with her, and who publicly paid her the fame refpect as a fervant to his miftrefs, and often adreffed her by that title, had been feveral times fent by the queen to bring her, and that ſhe paffed many whole afternoons ſhut up with her majeſty in her cloſet, when ſhe was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded moſt matter for difcourſe, was that, at the time when theſe diſputes ran higheſt, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately cauſed to be built at Blois, over thoſe that were the length of the garden below ; it is that in which there is the odd representation of a hind with a ſtag's horns. It was obſerved, that his majeſty ordered two Swiſs, who underſtood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet cloſed up, and that, during two hours and more which we continued together, we ſeemed to talk with great earneſtneſs and action. They might, notwithſtanding the diſtance, hear ſome of our words, from which they could draw no lights ; but it was not the ſame with thoſe which his majeſty ſpoke when he went out ; theſe they underſtood, and carefully remembered. “ No
 “ more need be ſaid of it ; I will regulate my whole
 “ conduct by your advice, ſaid the king, that I may
 “ be no longer reproached with obſtinately follow-
 “ ing my own will ; but remember, that we may
 “ probably both repent it one day, for you cannot
 “ but be affected with any miſfortunes that happen
 “ to me. I know the diſpoſition of thoſe perfons
 “ who foment our differences, they will be the cauſe
 “ of great uneaſineſs to the ſtate : gentleneſs and in-
 “ dulgence are laudable qualities, I confeſs ; but
 “ you cannot deny alſo, that their extremes are
 “ dan-

"dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewise to distinguish the latter part of my reply to the king: "It was, indeed, a part of prudence, I told him, to foresee and to prevent bad accidents, but it was equally necessary to avoid hastening them by useless precautions." On this they founded their suspicion, that the king had a design to proceed to some violent measures against certain persons of the queen's * household, and who were most in her confidence.

1602.

From Blois the king came to Poitiers; he afterwards shewed himself in the Limosin and Guienne: his presence produced every where so good an effect, that he found no opposition to his will, not even to the establishment of the penny in the livre †: he might have afterwards continued this impost, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, satisfied with the submission of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a small subsidy, and afterwards to suppress it entirely. The edict of revocation expressed, that his majesty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his subjects. Henry, pleased with the success of his journey ‡, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was soon followed by marechal Biron.

* This is speaking very plainly; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can scarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a resolution to clear the court of these informers, who exasperated the queen's mind against him, but likewise to make this princess sensible of her indiscretion, by forbearing to see her, and obliging her to live at a distance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by sending her back to Florence. We may see, in the History of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Rosny thought this last

course rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumstances considered.

† La Septennaire says, that M. de Rosny was sent for this purpose by his majesty to Rochelle; and that he was commissioned by the Rochellers to make remonstrances to the king, for suppressing the pancarte or tariff of this impost.

‡ During this journey to Poitiers, says la Septennaire, which lasted near two months, the court seemed melancholy, the king pensive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois: all which was owing to the public and private disquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

The

1602.

The consternation his party was thrown into by the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not so far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a resolution to go to court, which several other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon such a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate supply of what troops and money he had occasion for. Too glaring an opposition to the king's will might raise suspicions of his treasonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had escaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, represented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refusals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal stroke to the marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himself, nor to retire into any of his fortresses, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I had prepared Biron for this stroke, by the precautions I took some months before: I represented to him, that it was necessary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places of Burgundy should be cast over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myself to all the duties of my employment, as grand master, was alone sufficient to have made this proposal pass unsuspected; but that I might not give the least umbrage by it to the marechal, I was the first to offer him to supply the deficiencies, by furnishing him with plenty of every thing that was necessary from the arsenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I consented that Biron should dispatch some of his soldiers to Lyons, to escort the boats that were to be loaded with pieces of cannon I was to send him, and that he should receive them before he sent away those he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken such measures every where, that the boats from Lyons which went up the Saone very slowly, were

were stopped by the way, till those that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his jurisdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther. 1602.

Biron did not perceive the artifice I had made use of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he discovered so violent a rage against me, and boasted so publicly he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewise, as if without design, posted the light horse upon the passage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impossibility they were now under of defending themselves, but that it was necessary they should deceive the king, till by foreign assistance they had provided for their security. Descures and Jeannin acted in such a manner with them, as to increase this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the strongest assurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewise, that he had sought for an interview with the king with no other view than to sound him, and that he had found him very far from guessing the truth; this he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he passed him, he said these words; "Courage, my master, and speak boldly." The council had likewise so earnestly kept the secret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was designed against Biron; and d'Epemon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, sent him such offers of service as are usual amongst persons of high rank †;

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had seen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La-Fin deceived him, by burning, instead of it, a piece of waste paper.

† The duke d'Epemon did not deny, that upon this occasion he had performed all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron; "When he

" conversed with him upon this affair, says the historian of his life, " he did not do it in ambiguous " terms, as others did, but with " great openness and sincerity. " He acquainted him with La- " Fin's treachery, and shewed him " all the proofs of it, and exhorted " him to throw himself upon the " king's mercy. This clears the in

1602. in which, after what had passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

I had taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king sent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he affects great modesty and reserve; haste hither speedily, that you may advise us what is to be done: Adieu, my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavillion where I was lodged, with Praslin *, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his walk, told me, that he had in vain

"duke d'Epemon. Du Pleffis-Baufsonniere, a gentleman of honour, and very much attached to the duke (it is the same whom he sent to meet the marechal) was the person employed to use all sorts of arguments to prevail with him to ask the king's pardon: hence this gentleman, assured of his own and his patron's innocence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country, after that the king, who was not ignorant of this step, had caused the marechal de Biron to be arrested; in which he did the duke d'Epemon a considerable service. And he afterwards gave him a second piece of advice, which proved very successful, and that was, to confess freely to his majesty all his proceedings with the marechal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with him." The same historian, in this account, throws in some hints, which discover the very bottom of the duke d'Epemon's sentiments, and which at the same time serve to shew his character; "The duke d'Epemon, says he, and Biron, having gone together to the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his majesty being told beforehand of their coming, placed himself at a win-

"dow, to observe, through the glass, their motions and countenance. A friend of the duke d'Epemon, who was about the king, gave him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accordingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and being more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from his conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high indignation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an upright countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where he knew the king leaned. This his majesty took particular notice of, and made those about him do so too. The king afterwards made a match at tennis, in which the count de Soissons, with the king, played against the duke d'Epemon and the marechal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the duke utter a good saying, telling the marechal, "that he played well, but chose his side badly." Hist. de la vie de duc d'Epemon, an. 1602. p. 205.

* Charles de Choiseul, marquis de Praslin, captain of the first company of guards, died a marechal of France in the year 1626.

endeavoured,

endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron * a confession of his crime, although he was so little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majesty afterwards laid open to me his most secret sentiments with regard to the marechal; he still felt for him all his former tenderness, and beheld him not with resentment, but compassion: ardently he wished, that I would suggest to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a state criminal: but this was not easy to be done, considering the disposition Biron was known to be of; if it was dangerous to suffer him to escape, when he shewed no signs of repentance, it was no less so to release him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treason.

The king once more resumed a resolution suggested to him by the natural sweetness of his temper, which was, to endeavour to restore the marechal to a right way of thinking; but as he had not been able to succeed in this attempt himself, he ordered me to undertake it, and promised me to avow all I should say to Biron to engage his submission, provided that I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had said, to prevent the design of arresting him, to which he must have recourse if the marechal per-

* The king, wearied out with his obstinacy, suddenly left him, saying, as he went away, "Well, I must learn the truth elsewhere: Adieu, baron de Biron." These words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that struck him to the ground; the king thereby degrading him from those many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The same day, after supper, the count de Soissons also exhorted him, in the king's name, to own truth to him; and concluded his remonstrance with this sentence of the wise man, "The anger of kings is the forerunner of death." Pref. *ibid.* After dinner, says le

Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majesty, shewing him his statue in relievo triumphing over the vanquished, says to him, "Well, cousin, if the king of Spain had seen me thus, what would he say?" To which he lightly made answer, "Sir, he would fear you but little." All the lords that were present took notice of this presumptuous answer, and the king looking sternly at him, Biron, who observed it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that statue, but not th's person."

1602. fisted in his obstinacy. “ If he opens himself freely
 “ to you, said the king, upon the confidence you must
 “ endeavour to inspire him with of my favourable
 “ intentions towards him, assure him, that he may
 “ come to me without fear, and confess all ; and if he
 “ disguises no part of the truth, I promise you, upon
 “ my royal word, I will pardon him chearfully.”

I went to the castle to see the marechal, who was
 in his majesty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at
 the head of the bed. I had a sufficient number of
 attendants with me : and the marechal, seeing his
 people make way at my approach, advanced to sa-
 lute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought
 to begin, by endeavouring to soften the resentment
 I knew he entertained against me : “ How is this !
 “ monsieur, said I, embracing him, you salute me
 “ with the gravity of a senator, contrary to your
 “ usual custom ; you must not be thus reserved ;
 “ embrace me a second time, and let us talk freely.”
 When we were seated, and out of the hearing of any
 person in the room, “ Well, monsieur,” said I,
 in an obliging tone, “ what a strange man are you !
 “ have you yet paid your respects to the king ? how
 “ were you received by him ? what has he said to
 “ you ? you know his disposition is frank and open,
 “ he likes others to be sincere with him ; I am
 “ told you behaved in a very reserved manner to
 “ him, which was far from being seasonable, nor
 “ did it suit with either his temper or yours : I am
 “ your kinsman, your friend, and your servant, take
 “ my counsel, and you will find it will be useful to
 “ you ; tell me freely what you have upon your
 “ heart, and depend upon it I will procure you sa-
 “ tisfaction ; be not apprehensive that I will de-
 “ ceive you.” To all this Biron contented himself
 with replying in a cold and indifferent manner, “ I
 “ have waited on the king with all the reverence
 “ and respect that I owe him ; I have answered all
 “ his questions, which were only on general mat-
 “ ters, nor had I any thing more to say to him.”
 “ Ah !

1602.
 “ Ah! monsieur, replied I, it is not thus that you ought to act with the king: you know the goodness of his heart, open yours to him, and declare freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it should be so, all your grievances, and I promise that, before night, you shall be satisfied with each other.” “ I have nothing more to say either to the king or to you than what I have already said, returned the marechal; but, if his majesty entertains any suspicion of me, or thinks I have given him any cause of complaint against me, let him or you acquaint me with the occasion of these suspicions and disgusts, and I will give you satisfaction.” “ The king,” said I, in my eagerness to save him, “ is offended at your coldness, for as to other particulars, added I immediately, he is quite ignorant: but let your conscience be your judge, and act in the same manner as if you knew we were informed of your most secret actions, nay, even your words and thoughts; for I protest to you upon my honour, this is the most certain way to obtain whatever you can desire from the king. The method I recommend to you I always follow myself: if it ever happens that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the king, who then grants me all I wish: If you will believe me and take my counsel, dear marechal, pursued I, you and I shall govern the court and be at the head of affairs.” “ I am willing to believe you,” replied Biron with the same coldness, “ but I have nothing to accuse myself of; I feel my conscience perfectly at ease, since the confession I made the king at Lyons.” Although I had probably said but too much already, yet I could not hinder myself from making him still several other instances, which he received no better, and soon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

The king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had said to Biron, and his answers.

“ You have gone rather too far, said this prince to

1602.

“ me, and have said enough to create some suspicion in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go into that gallery,” added his majesty, after reflecting some moments upon the blindness and obstinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, “ and wait for me there; I would talk to my wife and you alone.” Accordingly he returned a short time afterwards with the queen, and shutting the door of the gallery, he told us that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the safety and happiness of the state, leaving him no other part to take but that of arresting marshal Biron and the count d’Auvergne, all that now remained was to consider how to do it securely *. His majesty was of opinion, that we should wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his respective lodging, and that then soldiers should be sent to invest them. I proposed that they should be in the king’s closet till the night was far advanced, and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majesty’s retiring, should be withdrawn, they should then be seized as they went out of the king’s apartment. “ I do not see how this can be done, replied Henry, “ without having my chamber and closet filled with blood; for they will not fail to draw their swords

* It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain person put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after supper, in the name of the countess de Rouffy his sister, and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no answer, he doubted something else was the matter, and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him, that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arrested, and directly shewed it to one of his friends called de Carbonnieres, who said to him, Then, adieu, sir, I wish I had a poignard in my breast,

provided you were now safe in Burgundy. To this he made answer, Suppose I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king’s orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithstanding this, he went into the king’s chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midst of his game, the sieur de Merge, a gentleman of Burgundy, was observed to whisper somewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d’Auvergne came also and twice touched him on the side, telling him, “ It is not safe for us to be here.” Sept. *ibid.*

“ and

“ and defend themselves, and if this should happen, I had rather it were in their apartment than mine.” I thought it of most consequence, upon this occasion, to avoid, as much as possible, all noise and confusion; but the king continuing firm in his first proposal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to supper, “ and at nine o’clock, said he, “ let your horses be prepared, and you and all your people be booted, ready to mount and set out when I send for you.”

1602.

I withdrew to my pavillion, where, after giving orders, conformable to those I had received from his majesty, I went into my closet, from whence I could see all that passed about Biron’s apartment, which was in the pavillion opposite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to observe what was doing on that side where I expected soon to see the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock struck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, said I, returning into my chamber, where all my domestics waited for the scene that was preparing, some at play, some in conversation, and others asleep, I am afraid, said I, that they have not taken their measures right, and have suffered the birds, which with so little difficulty they might have taken, to escape, and which will not be easily entrapped again. I then ordered them to saddle my horses, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I continued there half an hour, after which I heard a noise at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, Monsieur, the king sends for you. I looked out at the window, and knew the messenger to be La Varenne, who went on saying, “ Monsieur, come immediately, the king wants to speak with you, and to send you to Paris, to give the necessary orders there, for messieurs de Biron and d’Auvergne are made

1602. "prisoners." "And where were they taken?" said I *. "In the king's closet," he replied. "God be praised," said I, "that the king has followed that advice." I ran directly to his majesty's apartment. "Our men are seized, said he to me; "mount your horse, and go and prepare their lodgings in the Bastile; I shall send them in a boat to the gate of the arsenal next the river: make them land there, that they may not be seen, and carry them without any noise through the midst of your courts and gardens. When you have made proper dispositions in the arsenal for their reception, if you can, before they arrive, which they will do soon after you, go to the parliament and the town-house, and declare there what has happened; tell them that, at my arrival, they shall know the reasons for this proceeding, which they will find to be just." All these orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment that the prisoners landed at the arsenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine, who bore the title of mademoiselle de Sully.

I gave the care of the prisoners to the soldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and posted them in such a manner that they might be said to be guards upon each other. I likewise placed a guard upon the bastion, opposite to the windows in the prisoners apartment, and another upon the

* Vitry arrested the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, says he to him, the king has commanded me to give him an account of your person; deliver me your sword." "You but jest," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins Vitry, the king has so commanded me." "Pray, says the marechal again, let me speak to the king." "No, sir, returns Vitry, the king is retired to rest." Praslin waited at the same time for

the count d'Auvergne at the gate of the castle, to whom, as he came out, he said, "You are the king's prisoner." "What I, I," returned the count d'Auvergne, much surprised. "Yes you, Sir, says Praslin to him, I arrest you in the king's name, deliver me your sword." "Here take it, replies the count, it has never killed any but wild boars; if you had acquainted me sooner of this, I would have been in bed and asleep two hours ago."

terrace

terrace of the tower ; so that, as I wrote to the king, it was impossible they should escape, unless by the interposition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majesty obliged me to take all these precautions. A few days after the detention of the prisoners, the king wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a scheme laid to procure their escape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I should answer for them. I contented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my soldiers, who, to make an escape practicable, must have been corrupted every one. Another time the king sent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was also against my person : a boat full of soldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the steps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the same by the second, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, fresh horses being in readiness for them at the end of every ten leagues, and that, when in possession of my person, they were to deal with me by way of reprisal, as Biron should be dealt with. This last information, although so circumstantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the rest : I thanked his majesty, however, for giving it me. He had the goodness to command me to be strictly attentive to my own safety, assuring me, that, if the design which was laid against me should succeed, he would not hesitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners, and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

The first president, the president de * Blancmesnil, and the two counsellors de Fleury and de Thu-

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president ; Nicholas de Potier fleur de Blancmesnil, president ; Stephen

de Fleury, dean ; Philibert de Thurin, counsellor of the grand chamber.

1602. rin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavillion, in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither, and brought back again without being seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one, and that marechal Biron *, seeing Miron, the lieutenant civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said, was all the present he had to make her, and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weakneses which this man †,

* The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

† These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marechal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition as the son for ignorance: he could scarcely read. The following account of him from the *Chronologie Septennaire*, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He was particularly fond of splen-

dor, proud and ostentatious, and even has been often known to despise the pleasures of the table, and live abstemiously, that he might gratify his fantastic passion for glory; he was daring in battle and immeasurably ambitious: he was so presumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor France could do without him; he was also become so malevolent and slanderous, that he spoke ill of all princes; he has been often heard to ridicule the mass, and make a jest of the pretended reformed: there are numberless instances given of his having but little religion; he relied very much on the predictions of astrologers and divines." The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to consult, under a borrowed name, the old astrologer La Brosse, the same of whom M. de Sully speaks so often in his Memoirs. "This good man," says he, who was then in a little tower or garret that served him

who,

who, amidst the greatest dangers of war, had acquired the character of intrepid, shewed at his execution, have furnished matter for much discourse, and doubtless will not be forgot by historians: as for me I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, some circumstances that regard me personally.

While preparations were making for trying the two state prisoners, they often desired to speak with me *: two considerations hindered me from giving them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of

“ for a study, said to him, Well,
 “ my son, I see the person for
 “ whom this horoscope is cast will
 “ arrive at great honours through
 “ his diligence and military brave-
 “ ry, and might come to be a king,
 “ but there is a *caput algal* that
 “ keeps him from it.” “ And
 “ what is the meaning of that, says
 “ the baron de Biron.” “ Don’t
 “ ask me the meaning of it, re-
 “ turns La Brosse?” “ No, says
 “ the baron, but I must know.”
 After many altercations between
 them, La Brosse at length said,
 “ The meaning is this, my friend,
 “ he will do so much that he shall
 “ have his head cut off.” Upon
 “ this, the baron fell upon him
 “ and beat him cruelly, and after-
 “ wards leaving him half-dead,
 “ came down from the garret, tak-
 “ ing the key of the door with
 “ him.” This account is filled
 with other pretended predictions
 that were made him, and to which
 I think no man of sense would have
 shewn any regard.

* He requested the sieur de Baranton, M. de Praslin’s lieutenant, to wait on M. de Rosny from him, and tell him that he desired to see him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earnestly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of service which he expected from him, as he always had a great esteem for him, and

found him to be his friend, and such a friend that, had he been persuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were persons more guilty than himself, but that he was the most unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earnest entreaties which the sieur de Baranton made in his name, so greatly affected M. de Rosny and his lady, the sieur Zamet and others who were present, that they were unable to speak for some time, and sat listening in tears. At length M. de Rosny broke silence and said, “ I cannot see him nor intercede for him, it is now too late; had he been persuaded by me, he had not been in this melancholy situation, for he ought to have declared the truth to his majesty from the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; and since he did not so, he has taken from the king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that of interceding for him.”
 Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602.
 See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482 to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke de Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs,

Biron,

1602. Biron, whose death was too necessary for the good of the state, and too firmly resolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon: and, secondly, having been comprehended myself in La Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavour with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connexion with Biron, they should think that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He revered my innocence, and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

Deffunctis, grand-provost of the Isle-de-France, took down in writing all the conversations in which marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuscript to me some time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confession to the sieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, asked if there was no person there belonging to monsieur de Rosny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him, and said, "Monsieur Arnaud, I desire you will carry my last farewell to monsieur de Rosny, and tell him, that to-day he loses one of his best friends, and the most affectionate kinsman and servant he ever had: I have always highly esteemed his merit and valued his friendship. Alas!" said he, after raising his voice, and shedding some tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, "had I believed him, I should have avoided this fate: tell him, I beseech you, that I recommend my brothers to him, particularly my
"bro-

“ brother * Saint Blancard, who is his nephew,
 “ and that I entreat he will give my youngest bro-
 “ ther some post about the Dauphin, and that he
 “ would tell them, that, although I have failed in
 “ my duty and obedience, yet that they ought faith-
 “ fully to perform theirs, and continue always firm
 “ in their attachment to the king; but that he
 “ would not let them come immediately to court,
 “ lest they should suffer any reproaches on my ac-
 “ count.” Another time Biron talking of me, said,
 “ The king has, in monsieur de Rosny, a faithful
 “ servant, and a wise and prudent counsellor; his
 “ majesty has done well to make use of him; for
 “ while he continues to direct his councils, France
 “ will be happy, and I might have been so like-
 “ wise, had I governed myself by his advice.” On
 any other occasion I should have avoided inserting,
 in these Memoirs, such discourses in my praise; but
 on this I did not think myself at liberty to make the
 least alteration in the marshal's words. I was ig-
 norant of his having given these public testimonies
 of his esteem for me, when I joined with the rest
 of his relations † in imploring a favour for him, a
 slight one indeed, it was only to change the place
 destined for his execution; accordingly, instead of
 the Grève, which was named in the sentence that
 was passed upon him, his majesty permitted the

1602.

* John de Contaut, seigneur de Saint Blancard, had married mademoiselle de Saint-Gennies, niece to M. de Sully. The marshal de Biron had no other brothers living; he must therefore comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Messieurs de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Rouffy, de Chateau-euf, de Thémînes, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went three days after the arrest of marshal de Biron, to throw themselves at the feet of his majesty, who was then at S. Maur des Fof-

sés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author speaks of here. Henry comforted them, by reminding them of the example of the constable de Saint Paul, allied to the house of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a similar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the same fate had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Bibliothèque royale, vol 9129. where likewise may be seen a collection of pieces relating to the marshal de Biron's process.

1602.

marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Bastile.

The death of Biron entirely disconcerted all the schemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been sent at the same time by his majesty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of all the places there which had been held by marechal Biron, without striking a blow, and sent Senecé to inform the king that this province had submitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings against the conspirators stopped here: and, except Fontenelles *, whom Henry thought it necessary to punish for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the rest. The number of the conspirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the most considerable courtiers † were involved in the guilt. I strengthened as much as possible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned those whom I knew to have had some share in the confidence of Biron, and represented to them so plainly, that all they had now to do was to throw themselves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almost all pursued this method: the secrecy which I promised them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cause to repent of a step, of which the king and myself only were witnesses, they were soon convinced that his majesty not only took care to shew

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenès to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a sledge, and broke alive in the Grève. "The king," says M. de Perfixe, in consideration of his family, which was very illustrious, granted to his relations that, in the arret,

"he should not be called by his own name: but history could not conceal it." M. de Thou, liv. 128, speaks of him as of a fellow, who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was something more than mere suspicions against the constable de Montmorency, and even against the duke de Montpensier. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 103.

he had no resentment against them, but likewise appeared to hold them in higher esteem than before. 1602.

Herbert, who was secretary to the party, and had been several times sent into Milan, and throughout all Italy by marechal Biron, was likewise arrested. I was ordered to interrogate him in the presence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depositions, the king having promised him a pardon, upon condition that he sincerely declared all he knew. The principal discovery he made, and that which gave the fullest conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonso Casal had been sent by that court, at different times, with large sums of money to marechal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, signed by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

The baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty; his perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to stay in, the kingdom; he was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majesty with an order to attend him, promising him his pardon, at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his accusers; that he should be continued in his post*, and permitted to retire from court after his confession; he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or insincere. There being no letter from his majesty, De Lux appeared contented with a

* He was governor of the castle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

promise

1602. promise under my hand that he should receive no harm.

The king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majesty as he was going to hunt, threw himself at his feet, and was beginning a long speech, when the king, who had not leisure to hear him then, stopped him short, by saying, "Go to monsieur de Rosny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was sent, raised such apprehensions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his escape. However, he came to the arsenal, but under such terrors, that, instead of listening to any thing I said to him, he was continually looking round him, and his apprehensions were encreased when he saw his majesty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arsenal, the king having sent them thither, because he intended to pass by the arsenal in his return from the chase. De Lux now thought himself lost. "Ah! monsieur," said he to me, "I came hither upon the king's word and yours; do you intend to detain me?" "Why do you ask me this question, monsieur, said I?" "The guards," said he, "which I perceive entering in files, persuaded me that it is not the king who is coming, but that they are probably sent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to speak to the king before he was confined, promising, and I believe very sincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have observed your uneasiness," replied I, "but be not afraid, I have no orders to arrest you; speak freely to the king, swear to be faithful to him, and keep your oath, you will then have nothing to apprehend; had the duke of Bi-ron acted in that manner, he would have been now alive." That moment a messenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and desired to speak with me: the evening was so far advanced

advanced before the chace was ended, that, instead of coming to the arsenal as he had proposed, he went directly to the palace. This message relieved the baron de Lux from his terrors. 1602.

The next day he had a conference with his majesty, which lasted above four hours; he gave no cause for accusing him of indiscretion in concealing his accomplices, but named such a prodigious number of persons, that Henry, glad to find in such general accusations a pretence for believing none, and for making himself easy, treated all those whom de Lux accused, and who were continually about him, no less favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with marechal Biron's designs, but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongst the crowd, determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithstanding all the advances and promises which I made them. The constable had indeed kept up a sort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was persuaded that it was merely personal, and extended no further, I thought myself obliged to justify him to his majesty, on whom his assurances of fidelity made so little impression, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of suspicion: I may say with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards restoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reason to repent of his clemency, either to him or any of the others *, except only

* It is not certain that Henry the IVth never had reason to repent of this indulgence. As to the assassination of this prince, there remains a great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by supposing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conspiracy here spoken of, we may still believe that this catastrophe had not hap-

pened, if the conspirators had been prosecuted with more severity: in this case it must be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Rosny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author says four lines higher of those who boldly concealed themselves among the crowd, sufficiently shews, that the spirit of revolt was not extinguished by the death of its head.

1602. the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

The nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs against them, made it highly probable that their punishment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he caused to be intimated to him by the constable, but also softened, as much as possible, the inconvenience of his imprisonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Bastile for his table, discharged him of the expence of the officers and soldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my representations that a greater number was useless. At first, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terrasses, but afterwards he was indulged in all his desires; and at length wholly * discharged from his confinement. He had been so little accustomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he said, it signified nothing, unless he gave him his liberty likewise.

Those who praise alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to justify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the services his majesty might expect from the count of Auvergne, in discovering to him the plots of the Spanish party against France, made it necessary to pardon him for his own interest. For my own part, I am too candid not to confess, that on this occasion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his passion for the marchioness of Verneuil, sister to the count of Auvergne; which was the sole cause of the indulgence he shewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts

* In the beginning of October. "open confession to messieurs the
"It was not, says le Septennaire, "chancellor, de Sillery, and Ros.
"without having first made an "ny."

with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the subject, being persuaded, that all the arguments I could use at the time would have no force against the prayers and tears of a mistress; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpose to shew him his error. It was not till after the count of Auvergne had, by new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himself. 1602.

One day, when the king and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after viewing me silently for some time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly surprized at my not asking him his reasons for preserving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his majesty for fear of offending him. Henry answered immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shewn the prisoner, regarded the marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me, that that alone had been but sufficient to have commuted his punishment into a perpetual imprisonment; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeatedly to tell him what it was. I confessed to him, that it had been always my opinion, that his majesty would not inflict a shameful death upon a man who would be always considered as the uncle of his children, in case he should have any by the marchioness of Verneuil. Henry swore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections so far, although that consideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he insisted upon my guessing, in my turn, the

1602.

true reason that had induced him to set Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the solicitations of his mistress, the intreaties of the constable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themselves at his feet, had not had so great a share in that resolution as I imagined, they having contented themselves with asking only the life of the prisoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promises he made him, and the air of sincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had passed between himself and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many assurances of a sincere repentance, and protestations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promised him, with the most sacred oaths, if he would restore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the most secret resolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accomplish which, he had only to resume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his side would be only feigned: but that this dissimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the punishment of a traitor, it was necessary that his majesty should not reveal to any of his ministers what he then said, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he should receive from thence.

The king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himself to believe the promises Auvergne made him, or suppose that he could fall so low, as to take up the trade of a spy, and become a double traitor; but that after the count had assured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promises, and make use of him to procure such
intelli-

intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as 1602. he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promised Auvergne secrecy, and the other condition he had demanded.

The conclusion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his passion for his mistress; this was the fascination that closed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne; and after having prevailed upon him to spare his life, snatched from him likewise the grant of his liberty, and that upon so slight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word, but by suffering himself to be seduced a second time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

It must likewise be confessed, that he was ingenious, subtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act: but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous passions, he had in his heart such a fund of malice and perfidiousness, that it was easy to see he would resume his former dispositions; but he resumed them with so much address, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himself secure. He often conferred with his majesty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him, the better to play his part; but all he said might be reduced to matters of little consequence; while to the court of Spain he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that passed in France. I shall return to him again in another place.

The prince of Joinville*, to whom Henry like-

* Claude de Lorraine, fourth son to Henry duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuse, and died in 1657.

1602.  wife extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimsical, and more unsteady; he had engaged himself with bad company, among whom, to be in the fashion, and to appear a man of consequence, it was necessary that he should have correspondences without the kingdom; this was sufficient to ruin him entirely. His majesty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Charnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the king of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested: as soon as he found himself in custody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confession, provided that it was to the king in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I was just arrived, and preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any farther. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning, that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The king entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the duchess of Guise, and the duke, his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here," said he, is the prodigal son himself, I shall use him like a child, and pardon him for yours and "monsieur de Rosny's sake, who has entreated for him; but I do it upon condition that you will
" all

"all three reprove him severely, and that you, 1602.
 "nephew," added he, turning to the duke of Guise,
 "will answer for his conduct for the future: I give
 "him to your care, make him wise, if it be pos-
 "sible."

This change was not so easy a thing to effect on a young man of lively passions, incapable of instruction, and whose disposition had already taken its bent: he was suffered to remain in prison for some months, where at first he was obstinately sullen, then insolent and furious, and at last, through mere weariness, promised to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king consented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the castle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleased with this place than his prison, and represented to the king, that he could not reside in a castle which was not furnished. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falshood: having often hunted near that castle and Chevreuse, which is but at a small distance from it, the keeper of those two houses had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the duchess of Guise, that Dampierre was as well furnished as Chevreuse. This behaviour of Joinville's so incensed the king against him, that he reproached me for the too great interest I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myself less with them for the future. And now his majesty, instead of revoking his sentence, declared that the prisoner should be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promised to make a fuller confession than he had yet done; but being, as he said, apprehensive that his majesty was still angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the person to whom he spoke.

The duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his estates, as he had promised the king; therefore, after Biron was arrested, his majesty judg-

1602. ed it necessary to write to him, to see if upon this occasion he would not give some proof of his connexion with the prisoner: he informed him, that marechal Biron had been convicted of conspiring against the state; and that when he came to court, he would shew him the proofs of his treason, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; satisfying himself with thus insinuating that he expected the performance of his promise, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design of this letter, and answered it no otherwise, than by sending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majesty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had escaped. By this person he sent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided saying any thing from which the least advantage could be taken, either because he had already learnt that his associate was seized, or that his imagination suggested to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to assume. He told me, that never had any one's astonishment equalled his, when he learned that the state and the king's person had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readiness he shewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's service called him, would, he hoped, convince his majesty, that he should never have the like reason to be apprehensive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms such as these: he could not, however, hinder himself from hinting something in favour of the accused, but in a manner so general as could not hurt him. After expressing his wishes, that this event might not give his majesty any disturbance, he added these words, "nor alter the natural sweetness of his disposition."

The king, when I shewed him this letter, thought he might make use of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durst not send him an absolute command to come,

come, lest by a refusal he should lay him under the necessity of punishing him for his disobedience by the force of arms, which he neither chose nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that since Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his majesty, either to justify his innocence, or by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I should assure him, that I would give him my word, or if necessary become his surety, that so far from having any thing to fear, he should be received by the king with open arms. Henry knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him; and not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms: "I promise to M. de Rosny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes to court upon his letters, and the promises he shall make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or give the duke free leave to retire wherever he pleases; and neither in his journey to or from the court shall he receive any disturbance: for all which I engage my faith and royal word to the said sieur de Rosny. Given at Paris, June 24, 1602."

I wrote to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majesty entered into with me concerning him, pressed him in the strongest terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and settle for some time at court. This letter Bouillon received almost at the same time with the verbal answer the king sent him by his deputy, and took occasion, from his majesty's not having himself pressed him to come, to tell me in answer, that the ad-

1602. vice I gave him being inconsistent with the king's orders, he could not govern himself by it, whatever inclination he might have to do so; and that he would content himself with sending to court, as his majesty required, a person who should give as satisfactory an account of his conduct as he himself could do; and ought to be equally depended upon. This person was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the same time that I received Bouillon's answer to my letter, and whose expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, because, in appearance, he came by his majesty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, instead of coming himself, removed still farther from court, and went to Castres.

I am not surpris'd that my arguments had, on this occasion, so little weight with him, since he regarded me as his enemy, and did not scruple to call me so in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himself in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more surpris'd at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majesty. As soon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourse to dissimulation with him, he supposed it easy enough to impose upon his majesty and his council without risking any danger; for this purpose, all that was necessary was, to answer, in *appearance, always with great submission, without taking any of those measures, which they durst not formally prescribe to him. This artifice succeeded so well, that he made use of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modest or re-

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villerot's *Memoires d'Etat*, p. 158, & seq. See likewise the reasons which the historians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accusation of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refusing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Castres *Liv. v. p. 222, & seq.*

spectful terms, than the letter he wrote on this subject to Du-Maurier; and which, after his majesty had perused it, was given to me to be communicated to the chancellor and the duke d'Epemon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king strongly interested himself in it, and had a conference with Constant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, which lasted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

The game which upon this occasion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was still more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more especially England and Scotland, whose ambassadors were still at Paris, congratulated his majesty, upon his having so happily crushed this dangerous conspiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event: unless fear was their motive, it is not easy to guess what could oblige them to have recourse to so gross an artifice. Henry was more sincere with them; he signified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly, as if it had been possible to have persuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permission, to act in concert with Biron and the other conspirators.

The king, some days after the execution of marechal Biron, coming to the arsenal, I had a conversation with this prince that well deserves to be related: "You see," said he to me, after making some reflections, as usual, upon the ingratitude of messieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the most considerable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whose names he mentioned, "you see that those on whom
"I have bestowed the greatest favours, are the
"same persons by whose ambition and caprice I
"have suffered the most." He then observed to
me,

1602.

me, that these six men had, at different times, received larger sums from him, than the five kings his predecessors, except Henry III. who had been accul'd of such great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to silence those who always unreasonably enumerated the services of these six gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him since they had entered into his service; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but those presents that his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not such possessions as they had acquired by his assistance, and enjoyed through his protection; such, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having first procured, and then secured him the possession of it, as has been seen, on an occasion sufficiently perplexing.

The king, whose sole view in entering upon this subject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this discourse, which might have some relation to the present state of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a lesson, being too well persuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occasion for it; but that having seriously reflected upon the manner in which it was necessary he should behave to me, that he might not expose himself to the mortification of seeing the confidence he had in me lessened, he thought prudence required that he should take two precautions, with respect to me, in the rewards my services and family deserved from him; “ One of these precautions, said the king, “ has a reference to the world, the other to myself: first, that these rewards should neither succeed each other so rapidly, nor in themselves be so excessive, as to render you the object of publick hatred, always ready to break out against first ministers: and the second, that these estates and these honours should be of such a nature, as, “ if it should happen that through religion, or any other

“ other motive, you should be capable of violat- 1602.
“ ing your duty, they may not put you into a con-
“ dition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor
“ himself, or, after his death, of disturbing the
“ tranquillity of his successor, or of putting the
“ state in danger : in one word,” said this prince,
after giving me to understand, that as he spoke with-
out any disguise, he would permit me to tell him
my sentiments freely likewise, “ I would take from
“ myself the least occasion of suspicion against you,
“ that my friendship for you may continue unalter-
“ able. I daily experience so many instances of
“ ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contra-
“ ry to my inclinations, I am obliged to be distrust-
“ ful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put
“ you in possession of great cities and strong for-
“ tresses, which, in the high credit you are in, and
“ the great abilities you are master of, might make
“ you independent of me, and enable you, when-
“ ever you pleased, to throw the kingdom into con-
“ fusion. I cannot do more for you than ought to
“ be done for a servant, however faithful he may
“ be, by a prince who has his honour, his repu-
“ tation, and the interest of his people at heart.”

Henry, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my salaries and pensions, which were but sufficient to answer the expences of my table and house, an extraordinary gratuity of sixty thousand livres a year; that by uniting this sum to my own estate I might purchase more lands, build upon them, furnish and embellish my new houses, and more advantageously settle my children; telling me graciously, that he still reserved to himself to give me other proofs of his friendship and liberality : “ And this, pursued
“ he, I shall do with the more willingness, as I am
“ assured you will not squander these sums foolish-
“ ly on entertainments, dogs, horses, birds, and
“ mistresses.”

During

1602.

During this long discourse of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me listen to him in silence; the reflections it occasioned left me still more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he reposed in me, than discontented with a caution which many others, in my situation, would have thought excessive. The king having commanded me to be very sincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an absolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majesty, nor his successors, nor the state, should ever have any cause for those apprehensions of me which his wisdom had suggested, yet I myself did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himself up blindly to one person, whatever services he may have received from him, since it is next to impossible that any one should be able to answer for the wisdom and justness of his counsels for the future: therefore, instead of thinking myself injured, I found cause, in all his majesty had said, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodness, since whatever bounds he should prescribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my services.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant insinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majesty, had some share in those fears he expressed of me, I seized this opportunity to explain my self on an article, which from this moment I foresaw I should be under a necessity of returning to more than once. I begged his majesty would permit me to represent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poisonous reports of informers, without having first had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myself. I assured him, that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which alone deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that

that he should be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that, thro' impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves, which served for a foundation for the calumny.

1602.

What I then said to the king I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modesty, which may hold the place of justification; I am conscious I have no occasion for it; but because that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have, nevertheless, been more than once obliged to clear myself to the prince whom I served: if this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have merited, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry, if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to defend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince, who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained for me, we must not consider him in those moments when the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude, awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart in spite of him to distrust and suspicion; but, when recovered from those impressions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the sincerest proofs of his tenderness, and esteem.

The

1602.



The world therefore may judge as it pleases of those little disgraces which I have been obliged to sustain during the course of what will be called my glory and prosperity, and which probably any other might have suppressed, for the honour of having it said, that he directed as he pleased the inclinations of his master; on this subject I shall use neither disguise nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and instruction is my end.

The duke of Luxembourg having had a cause brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the assurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to issue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and settled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be constrained to deliver up these, which they generally kept till their demands were satisfied. The necessity of putting a curb to the avarice of these people had always appeared so strong, that the States had already given the same orders *, but to no purpose. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them, but the lawyers, instead of submitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public register the ensigns of their office, which produced a total cessation of law proceedings. There was almost a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and badauds †, a set of wretches with which the town is crowded, who taking upon them to be wiser than the king, the peers, and the states of the kingdom, decided against them in favour of the advocates ‡, and found some abettors, even at court,

* Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

† Such as are styled cockneys at London,

‡ Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. seems, in like manner, to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for who,

who, with so much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itself and easily remedied, that the king was stunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the consequence. 1602.

While this affair was yet in agitation, his majesty being one day in his closet conversing with some of the courtiers, and relating the continual solicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not surpris'd at it," said Sigogne, raising his voice, and assuming the air of one in a violent passion; "these men make it plainly appear that they know not how to employ their time, since they disturb themselves so much about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one would think the state, without these bawlers, would be ruined; as if the kingdom under Charlemagne, and so many other great kings, during whose reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were heard of, was not in as flourishing a condition as it is at present when we are devour'd by these vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the establishment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the register of the chancery, of which the first paper is intitled, *A permission to plead causes by an advocate*; and, perceiving that he was listened to with pleasure, he added, that this science was established to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the destruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not, said he, any artist, or even any simple labourer, that is not of more use to the community, than this swarm of men, who enrich themselves by our follies, and the artifices they have invented to stifle truth, throw down all right, and darken reason. If we are so blind," continued he, with a vivacity truly

all this, every good man must be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the sequel of these Memoirs, he proposes the means of considerably diminishing the number of processes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly used for business, to remedy the abuses of which he complains.

diverting

1602. diverting, " that we will not, and so unhappy that
 " we cannot, do without them, nothing remains to
 " be done but to command them to resume the ex-
 " ercise of their employment within eight days at
 " farthest, upon the conditions prescribed by the
 " court, upon pain of being obliged to return
 " to the shop or the plough which they have
 " quitted, or else to serve the state in Flanders,
 " with a musquet upon their shoulders. I'll an-
 " swer for it, if this method be taken with them, we
 " shall soon see them run with eagerness to resume
 " these magnificent ensigns, like vermin towards a
 " heap of wheat."

There was not one in the company who could forbear smiling at this lively sally of Sigogne's, and the king was among the first, and confessed that his arguments were very convincing: but whether it was that he suffered himself to be overcome by the solicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arret should, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous business terminated; for reflexions upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words:

* The medium made use of by the king's people, who underhand favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king should send new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to resume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrets of parliament, and the ordinances of the states. But,

as these letters did at the same time allow them to make such remonstrances as they should think reasonable, with regard to the exercise of their several employments, and as they were particularly assured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to submit thereto. De Thou, liv. cxxviii. Sept. an. 1662.

so the world was left to think that it was I who made him speak them †. 1602.

This naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiné, against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and assized in this province: myself, together with thirteen other commissioners, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it, but it was six years before it could be decided; the animosity between the parties concerned was so great, that there was a necessity for sending a second time to take information upon the spot. I took a more speedy method to bring a man, named Jousseauime, to justice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I caused him to be seized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too severely punished. The king again shewed himself solicitous for the interest of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treasurers-general of Burgundy: some draughts had been made on them for the charges

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down here. Henry one time hunting on the side of Grosbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Creteil, which is a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he enquired of the landlady if she had any thing for him to eat, to which she answered No, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then asked her, for whom is this roast-meat I see at the fire? For some gentlemen, replies she, that are above, and whom I take to be

solicitors. The king sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let him have a piece of their roast-meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table upon paying for it, both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize these solicitors, and carry them away to Grosbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. This the said sieur Vitry said punctually and speedily performed; says the author, notwithstanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the lawyers."

1602.

of garrisons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad design. I advised his majesty to send thither a commissary on whose probity he could depend; he did so, and he began by suspending those men from their employments, and himself performed the duties of treasurer. The money that was expended upon this occasion was raised out of the salaries of these receivers and treasurers, "That I," said Henry, may not pay the penalty for the fault "they have committed against my service and their duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin I found a method less tedious and severe than punishments and confiscations, which was only to raise their value *, there being no reason why they

* The crown called *écu d'or au soleil*, which was valued at sixty *sols tournois*, was raised to sixty-five; that called *écu pistolet* of fifty-eight *sols*, to sixty-two, and so of the other gold species: the silver franc of twenty *sols* was raised one *sol* and four *deniers*, and the rest in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance passed, about the raising the value of money, and the re-establishing of reckoning by *livres*; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, since the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by *livres*. Matthieu very highly approves of both these regulations of the duke of Sully's, tom II. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, says, p. 351, 372, & seq. that, whatever urgent reasons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itself, because the gold and silver species were afterwards raised as much in seven years alone, as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to

commerce, because that goods and merchandise were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems, to me, to be grounded upon stronger reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of those who had their revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 secured the effects of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected these two regulations here spoken of, to prevent these disorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign species, that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and, lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible, that his

should



should be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the same time, I settled, over all the kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres,

complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shewn, a little higher, in what sense it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourse, would be more proper to heighten than lessen it.

As to the raising of the price of goods, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear, to every one, very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe, since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us now with these metals, but also with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A state that should be conducted by this principle, would, among the other states of Europe, make the same figure, as the republic of Lacedaemon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and goods, and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raising the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of

journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, those people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief view of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in some measure, prevent it, in annihilating or diminishing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and, apparently, this was the only reason that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and still more as to commerce, did not allow him to see that he destroyed a slight corruption by one a great deal more considerable, nor suffer him to go up to the source of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and consequently the greatest quantity of gold and silver, will remain in that nation which shall have made all others depend most upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the balance of trade shall be in favour of some one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and silver, is neither reasonable nor practicable. At present, when we begin to see a little more clearly into these matters, there is no one but agrees, that all these regulations, and this whole train of reasoning, did not reach the end proposed. Though the exigency of circumstances, which is almost endless, does not permit either the providing against, or the subjecting every thing to a single rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very simple maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and these are, to avoid, with the greatest care imaginable, meddling with the coin,

1602. instead of crowns, as had been till then the practice : by some this may be thought an useless refinement, since all the ways of reckoning must come to the same thing at last : I am, however, of opinion, ex-

and endeavour continually to render the French as laborious, industrious, and frugal as possible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domestic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the shutting up of private purses, the embarrassment and disadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of estates : all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by such proceedings, to put the case impartially, always loses considerably more thereby than he gains ; besides, that the insolvency of his subjects is an evil which he always shares with them, and even feels much longer than they do ; all his expences increase with the coin, so as not to be diminished even when that does.

The other principle has still less need of proof. It seems, that nature has reserved to France the sovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her situation, and the goodness of her soil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourse to her, for all those things that supply the first and essential necessities of life : she has no more to do than to share, at least equally with them, in the commerce of all those things that serve but for mere conveniency, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the consumption of the latter should exceed the produce of the former, we shall complain unjustly of our condition ; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and silver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to these foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect cease, without removing the cause ; but to set a Frenchman to commerce that is carried on by

sea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as possible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but superfluities, and, on the other hand, to increase his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands ; this is what we may truly call promoting the interest of trade. Besides Le Blanc and Matthieu, consult on the subject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Perefice, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the history of these regulations of the finances and commerce ; for in reality the reasonings of these writers on this whole matter are but little satisfactory : we might well say of them what the duke of Sully said of the parliament of Paris, " They are masters of arts which none of them know any thing of." *Memoires pour l'hist. de France.*

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will supply that part from the same memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & seq. Tho' this writer seems not even to understand the state of the question, and speaks not very favourably of the king and his ministers. " At that time," says he, speaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this subject in 1609, " there was brought upon the carpet, and proposed to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to diminish and alter, that is, to raise its value, and by the same means to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this proposal : the king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the world, even at his own ministers, and their remonstrances, as he did at the first president of the mint (Wil-

perience

perience having shewn me, that the custom of talking always of crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raised all that was bought or sold to more than its real value.

The interest of commerce was still more concerned in the news the king received from several parts of the kingdom, that those who had been employed to seek for mines, had discovered a great number of * gold and silver ones. This report was spread

1602.

" liam Le-Clerc) who being discon-
 " certed in his speech, having been
 " twice interrupted by his majesty's
 " breaking into a fit of laughter,
 " which made him stop short in
 " the middle thereof; and upon
 " his majesty's observing it, he
 " says to him, Go on, Mr. presi-
 " dent, for I am not laughing at
 " you, but at my cousin, the count
 " of Soissons, who is near me, and
 " tells me, that he smells a shoul-
 " der of mutton. This second
 " stroke struck him quite dumb.
 " Upon which, the king falling
 " into a fit of laughter, went away
 " and left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of the principal persons that had communicated this project of the edict to the king, pressed much for its being put in execution. The king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, seeing himself continually teased by this rude contractor, at length asked him what countryman he was; to which he answered, I am a native of Perigord. *Ventre saint-gris*, replies the king, I always thought so; for in that country they are all false coiners.—On Saturday, the 5th of September, the court being met on the edit de monnoies, rejected it entirely; *Nec debemus, nec possumus*, we neither ought, nor can, concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to the mint were sent for; among whom one of the reformed religion, called Bi-

" zeul, spoke his sentiments very
 " freely, for which he was highly
 " commended; and M. le Premier
 " president said, *Non in parabolis*
 " *iste locutus est nobis*. It must be
 " observed, that as soon as the
 " people belonging to the coinage
 " had entered the chamber, the
 " first president said to them, Sit
 " down and be covered, and you
 " shall speak presently. On Tuesday the 8th, in the evening, M. de Sully went to see the first president, in order to prevail on him to persuade the court to pass the edicts; but in this he found him inflexible: and as the president represented to him the injustice of it, M. de Sully answered, The king ought not to look upon that as unjust which suits his affairs.—On Tuesday the 15th of September, the king sent his letters patent to the court, to prolong the parliament for eight days, during which time they were ordered to set about the registering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of themselves."

* Le Septennaire mentions the places where these mines of all sorts were discovered: " In the Pyrennees mines of talc and copper, together with some of gold and silver; in the mountains of Foix, mines of jet and precious stones, and even carbuncles, tho' but few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines

1602. at court, with so many appearances of probability, that every one representing to himself the direction of this new labour as a source of immense riches, there was not one who did not use his utmost endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monsieur Le Grand obtained the office of superintendant, and Béringhen that of comptroller-general. This gave occasion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon whose jests were equally satirical and agreeable, to say, "that they could not have made a fitter choice of a man for the direction of the mines, than one who was himself a composition of *mines* *." The improvement and working of silk, of which I shall have more occasion to speak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was published for the planting of mulberry trees.

Among all these different edicts, none made so much noise as that against duels †. His majesty went so far as to make death the punishment of those who disobeyed; in which, I confess, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and savage abuse, to fear the accusation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foresaw, that an excess of severity in the means would be the principal obstacle to the

* of lead and tin; in those of Carcassonne, mines of silver; in those of Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyonois near the village Saint Martin, of gold and silver; in Normandy, silver and very good tin; at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and Picardy, mines of marcasite of gold and silver. Some of these mines, but especially those of gold and silver, are very difficult and troublesome to work, and at the same time of so little profit, that M. de Thou had reason for dissuading them from meddling with them ever since that time" liv. cxxix.

† The jest lies in the word *mines*,

which in French signifies grimace and affectation.

† This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treason or *lèse majesté*, was passed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very severe one: this is the edict which first gave the constables and marshals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament restricted, in the registering, to those rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes as debts, assaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the course of these Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length,

1602.

execution. When it becomes necessary to declare the will of the sovereign to the subject, it is of the utmost importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of such a nature that the fear of death may prevent disobedience; for otherwise those extremities are, in my opinion, less efficacious than degradation or disgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be seriously attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly persons of quality, and even of the greatest distinction, who are guilty of it; for whom solicitations are so much the more ardent and successful, as the punishment with which they are threatened is great and infamous: it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are sufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that those punishments are most regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored.

Besides those embassies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a solemn deputation from the thirteen Swiss Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance*; which had been the occasion of marechal Biron's journey to those Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns to which their usual pension was raised: I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their ac-

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were observed on this occasion, in le Septennaire, ann. 1602. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

1602. count, during the campaign in Savoy, and on some other occasions; as for the rest, these gentlemen thought good cheer, and deep drinking with them, the most essential parts of their reception. The king presented them with gold chains and medals, and sent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holiness, loaded with presents: he gave his consent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

The great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year, kept the crown of France in continual attention to their motions, and were the cause that Henry, who held it for an incontestable truth, that it was by the military power alone a state could be rendered flourishing, not only rejected the proposal I made him, to disband part of his troops, particularly to lessen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but also that he took a resolution to make a new levy of six thousand Swiss; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more solicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the constable for having solicited with great earnestness the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at last he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the most considerable of all his majesty made this year, except that into the provinces.

Henry took his route through Verneuil * towards the latter end of the month of August, leaving his queen in the same condition she was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for she lay in of Madame, her eldest daughter, in November †. He recommended to me with great ear-

* Verneuil near Senlis, a castle which he had given to his mistress, mademoiselle d'Entragues, and from which she took the title of marchioness of Verneuil.

† Elizabeth, a daughter of France, was born on the 22d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

1602.

ness to be assiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of this journey; as likewise to procure her every kind of diversion that might alleviate her concern during the first days of his absence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the state of her health, and the manner in which she passed her time: and it may be truly said, that he never omitted giving her every instance of respect and tenderness that was able to make her forget the uneasiness she received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the son he had by the marchioness de Verneuil*, which was among the number of those things that gave the greatest offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occasioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to see his masons work; the remedy he made use of was, to go to the chace next day. As soon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in such a situation as he wished, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the president Jeannin, whom he expected to have occasion for.

It was from this place that his majesty was a witness of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemish, without having any inclination to disarm, whatever assurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had seen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they still continued to be on the same footing as before. The siege of Ostend was not carried on with so much vigour by the besiegers, as it was sustained by the besieged. Prince Maurice of Nassau, after continuing some time at Berg, uncertain of what he should next undertake, went on the 19th of September to invest Grave, and entrenched himself, not

* Henry de Bourbon, duke de Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Verneuil: he was at first bishop of Jotte Segulier,

doubting

1602. doubting but he should receive some opposition in this enterprize. Accordingly, the admiral of Arragon, in the absence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by sickness at Brussels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the besiegers, and to succour the place; but he did not succeed: and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spanish companies mutinied, and, after separating from the main body of his army, possessed themselves of Hoefstrate and Dele. He took such wrong methods to engage them to return, that they came to a resolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which these Spaniards restored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to accept of very strange conditions from them*.

The council of Spain, through a desire of carrying on the war, resolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A squadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a sufficient number of soldiers, and plentifully supplied with all necessary provisions, sailed for this purpose out of the Spanish ports, to cruise in the channel: the command of this squadron was given to Frederick Spinola, cousin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the siege of Ostend; he flattered himself that he should become master of the sea, and complete the ruin of the Flemish. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve vessels, two of them perished ere he had quitted the coasts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch squadron, were almost all either taken or sunk; the last that escaped, and in which Spinola himself was, happened to run a-ground within view

* See in the historians the particulars of all these expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

of Calais, but so disabled by the cannon, and in such a shattered condition, that the slaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himself obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Brussels, to complain to the arch-duke of the sea and the winds.

1602.

Spain made herself amends for these misfortunes, by the acquisition of the marquisate of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes. There was not the least shadow of a pretence for this usurpation; this little state, which is on the coast of Genoa, being incontestably a fief of the empire; nevertheless, when the Emperor, to preserve, in appearance at least, the right of the empire, offered to send commissioners to discuss this affair upon the spot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain *. He used the same violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewise of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewise the same views upon Embden, when he undertook to support against the inhabitants the lord † of this city, although he was avowedly a protestant; but in this he did not succeed: the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty against both the one and the other, and joined themselves to the states.

The duke of Savoy succeeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Genoa. This expedition ended unfortunately for the assailants, although they had opened themselves a passage into the city, by applying soldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which served them to get clear of the patrolle till they had found their way through the first guard;

* The marquis of Final, by his troubles in Chron. Sept. an. 1598. importunities, obtained a pension and their conclusion, an. 1602. during his life.

† Charles de Simiane d'Albigne. De Thou, liv. 129. Septen. an. 1602. Mattheu, ibid. 544.

‡ He was called count d'Ost Frise. See the origin of these

1602. and now they thought themselves secure of the city : but the citizens, deriving new strength and courage from the extremity they beheld themselves in, charged them with so much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of these Savoyards threw themselves off the walls, to escape the rage of the enemies ; many others were taken and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black design, which was followed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Genoa *.

The revolt of Battori from the emperor continued the war in Hungary : the duke of Nevers † went thither, in expectation of succeeding to the

* The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. Siri, *ibid.* p. 200.

† Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how la Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking, by his own example, to recal the courage of those who withdrew from danger, and to induce others to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, the wounded, and even those that were flying ; but he received there the shot of a large arquebuse that was fired amidst a great number of other arms, from one of the angles of the said breach, that struck him just on the left side, penetrating into the breast near the heart and lungs ; but it was conducted so providentially, that, neither breaking, or hurting any noble part, it gained him as much lasting honour, as it shewed a great miracle in his preservation." Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the duke of Mercœur : "Having an inclination, says he, to return to France, in

"order to prepare for some greater expedition against the Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave of the emperor : but while he was at Noremberg he was seized with a pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought him, than the moment he saw it, tho' in a languishing and weak state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *having more faith than life* (the device of the duke of Mercœur being, *plus fidei quam vitæ*) he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate upon the ground, adored his Saviour, uttering the most devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and serves sufficiently to form a high eulogium of his character : "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, by monsieur François de Selles, coadjutor and bishop elect of Geneve. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the Christians did not prosper but where-ever this prince was." After the eulogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues : "He

post and reputation of the duke of Mercœur, but ^{1602,} laying siege to Buda after Pest had been taken by the Christians, the Turks, who on their side had, at length, won Alba regalis, hastened thither with such numerous forces, that they forced them to raise the siege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baste, the imperial general, has been very much and very deservedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having seized Bistritz, Baste retook this place by a capitulation, which during his absence was violated by some German soldiers. As soon as he was apprised of it at his return, he hanged up all those soldiers, and out of his own money satisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were so greatly affected with the generosity of this action, that they all submitted to the Emperor, and demanded no other security than the general's word.

“ was one of the most temperate
 “ men in the world as to diet, so
 “ as only to eat when obliged thro’
 “ necessity, and he drank almost
 “ nothing but water: he was no
 “ less abstemious in other tempo-
 “ ral enjoyments; humble in the
 “ possession of all those high ho-
 “ nours and great favours heaven
 “ had heaped upon him, and ne-
 “ ver abusing any of them; he was
 “ equally accessible to rich and
 “ poor; moderate in his recrea-
 “ tions; he had a great contempt
 “ for idle assemblies: so that what
 “ time remained for amusement he
 “ employed in reading useful books.
 “ He had an exact skill in practi-
 “ cal mathematics; he also was
 “ eloquent, and would gracefully
 “ deliver his elegant sentiments

“ not only in French, but likewise
 “ in the German, Italian, and Spa-
 “ nish tongues, in which he was
 “ more than moderately skilled;
 “ and yet he never employed his
 “ elocution but to enforce things
 “ that were useful, praise-worthy,
 “ and virtuous.” The description
 which this writer afterwards gives,
 with regard to his performing the
 duties of religion and those of his
 station, his piety, his prudence,
 and his other virtues, form alto-
 gether a picture which may serve
 for a model to the great of our
 times, if we except that an immoderate
 ambition and mistaken zeal
 for religion made him undertake a
 conspiracy against his sovereign,
 Matthieu, *ibid.* 456. speaks of him
 in the same manner.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIV.

1603.
~

THE city of Metz had been, for some time, shaken with those intestine divisions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole country of Meffin, had placed Sobole * and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made such an ill use of their authority, that they were soon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was strengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was such a general outcry amongst the citizens and country people, against the lieutenants, that d'Epernon was obliged to go himself to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refused to furnish the troops with victual, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some disputes had also risen concerning a certain Provençal Prisoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and desire of revenge, occasioned several other matters less considerable; and these heats had al-

* Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gascony.

ready

ready proceeded so far as to make a revolt be apprehended. 1603.

The duke of Epernon was soon convinced that the two Soboles * had not justice on their side; at least, with regard to the first complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occasion of a quarrel, with no other view than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and this to make themselves masters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have some difficulty to support himself in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

Things were in this state, when the king received advice of what was doing at Metz: he sent me notice that he would come to the arsenal to confer with me, and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him and six other persons whom he should bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great store-houses of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as usual, to discourse about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry, without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from

* Sobole accused the city of Spain. This accusation appeared Metz of holding intelligence with to be false. *Vie du duc d'Epernon*, p. 317.
the count of Mansfeld, in order to surrender itself to the king of

1603. the duke of Epernon a citadel, which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a supposition that he should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having, in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance, than he could expect from d'Epemnon. It was probable at least that some favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorraine to France, and in that case it imported his majesty highly to go himself in person, and procure a perfect knowledge of this state, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewise would be of use to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the princes of Germany, and of sounding their inclinations with respect to the house of Austria, to know if he might expect any assistance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us, that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end, that by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the coats of his guards (for about this time they were to be all new cloathed) were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his secretaries of state to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season,

son, which made the roads very bad for the ladies ^{1603.} to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont : the court stopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Fresne-en-Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience : not but Sobole, who was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends ; but the most prudent amongst them represented to him, that, if he engaged in such a design, he would be irretrievably ruined ; so that, submitting to the arret for his banishment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny* to be his lieutenant in this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment ; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that every thing seemed to be done with his consent.

* Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was chief steward of the household to Henry III. governor of Berry, Blois, &c. knight of the order of the Holy-Ghost, camp-master-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messin, Toul, and Verdun, at last, mare-

chal of France, and died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is misnamed by some, John-James d'Arquien ; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marechal de Montigny.

1603.

I have taken this whole detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt still longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which he said was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth any thing; he likewise told me, that he wished for my presence in that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that, before six days, he should put every thing in such good order as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition, that obliged him to take some medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occasioned by a cold. The dutchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the sixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty staid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiselle de Rohan, and the young duke de Deux-Ponts*; in composing a difference between the cardinal of Lorraine, and the prince of Brandenburg†, concerning the bishopric of Strasbourg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquillity to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderseheidt, the catholic bishop of Strasbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorraine obtained this bishopric of the

pope; and the protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenburg, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. See the historians, Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

became

became so revered in this country, that several foreign princes of Germany took a resolution to come thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors, the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest the Rhine, that came thither in person. 1603.

The Jesuits, who ever since their banishment had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun *, supported by La-Varenne, who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat

* The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial Châteiller, Brossard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wednesday in Passion-week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admission into France. Henry IV. would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and kept

them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recall them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me," added he, "for I think you useful to the public, and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronolog. Sept. anno 1603. MSS Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

1603. of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of the princess Catherine, the king's sister, is one proof of it, and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that pursued by the council.

D'Offat, by printing his letters, which prove the truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not to be solicitous about concealing his true sentiments from the public; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have suggested to him, he deserves still greater reproaches for having endeavoured, both in his discourse and in his writings, to give a bad impression of the king and his ministers. When removed from the center of business, all the informations he could obtain must be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of sense and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this passage tends partly to justify myself against the censures of d'Offat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not scruple to attribute marechal Biron's rebellion, and the discontent of the other French lords, to the very little satisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppression the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counsellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himself upon his nice discernment in affairs of state, presumed, by desiring Villeroi to shew his letter to the king, to advise his majesty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Possibly if this proceeding of d'Offat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than mistake

take in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the states in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a very considerable gratuity from him; and lastly, that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had, by his majesty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I was not acquainted with any of d'Offat's malicious proceedings, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome, among others d'Offat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Offat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at that court. D'Offat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better an answer than I had given the banker. However, being of

1603. opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an incontestible proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me: that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expediate no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and in the postscript of my letter, gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of d'Ossat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my just indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent; which, if what I heard of him was true, he deserved; if false, I gave Villeroi to understand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of d'Ossat. He was still more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I consented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Ossat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I shall resume this article in a proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce d'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me from Rome against him. At present, what remains to be said of him regards the coadjutorship of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader, that d'Ossat procured himself to be made coadjutor of Baïeux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons, that they should lose nothing by it, since they obtained an equivalent upon the bishopric

ric of Evreux. Villeroi earnestly solicited his majesty for d'Offiat, and endeavoured to engage my interest for his friend; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him. 1603.

The pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's absence, upon the journey his majesty had undertaken. That his holiness interested himself in it, was occasioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themselves of the occasion of this voyage, that which was conceived of majesty's armaments and treasures, which common fame had greatly increased, and infected even the holy father with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to reassure him, without troubling myself to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His majesty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongst others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend; nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Boisleduc, not considering that this enterprise exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Boisleduc with so small a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the satisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the castle of Vastendonck, where they were, in a manner, already masters. The garrison of this place,

1603. too weak to resist them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the castle to their discretion, when they were joined by some Dutch troops, who passed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and dislodged them from the castle.

It may be easily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was absolutely necessary that France should continue to contribute. The siege of Ostend alone had cost them one hundred thousand vollies of cannon, and seven thousand men. His majesty for the interest of both the powers, kept Buzenval * in those provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent sent by the states to the king was named Aërsens †; this agent represented to me, that his countrymen would be soon in no condition to keep the field, unless his majesty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their service with Frenchmen. The king sent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this request, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he consented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon these conditions, that it should be Aërsens himself that should raise the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in such a manner, as to draw upon him some reproaches from the

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërsens, resident and afterwards ambassador from the states of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time represent him as a man of a subtil, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu speaks of him, Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiscard, chancellor of Montferat, as the three only politicians he had

ever known in Europe. "It was the received opinion of that time," says Amelot de la Houssaye, "that Henry IV. had an amour with Aërsens' wife, and that the husband was content with it, by reason of the profit he reaped from it: this amour laid the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres a year to his son, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

king

king of Spain: that the recruits should be raised 1603.
 with the utmost expedition and the utmost secrecy; and that the soldiers who listed, the number of which he desired to know, should file off, without any noise, to the place where they were to embark, marching six in a company at most, with no other arms than their swords, and no more money than was necessary to answer their expences till they got there; that they should take shipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this last city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice should be sent to Chastes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vice, whose concurrence was necessary to the design, and for whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders, and, for fear that they should enlist with the arch-duke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As for the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

During the stay his majesty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electress: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his justification to Henry *, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majesty sent me immediately to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unseasonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to represent to him the great affliction it gave to the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity suspected by

* History of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

1603.

the king, and to assure him that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La Tremouille that he should at least stop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one or the other; the Palatine, therefore, to excuse the duke, alledged, that with regard to the first complaint, the quality of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentleman who had brought his majesty's letter had found Boillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and expect his majesty at Sedan; but that thinking it necessary to take his rout through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and also to pay his respects to the elector and electress, his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiving his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which, the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

Henry answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always done, to restore the duke of Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man named Du-Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been sent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with dispatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned, that this courier, who was to set out from Longjumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even

even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to pass through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the answer to Tremouille's dispatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majesty would not have entered into so circumstantial an account of this affair, but that he wished (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arrest this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he should have received letters in that city, which would fully discover the nature of his commission. 1603.

His majesty had certainly no occasion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too rashly, that the submission which appeared in that step he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only dissembled, with a view to two things; the first was to inspire the king with a security in regard to his person, and the second to continue to draw from him those sums which for a long time he had regularly received for the support of his fortresses. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly displeased. His majesty recommended it earnestly to me, to have no regard to the instances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the same time to give him no reason to suspect that I had any knowledge of what he had just related to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongst the protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the Arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed; after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at last to set him at peace, by shewing him, that however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual

1603.



tual struggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet these aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private one's ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say farther, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment: allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible, only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortresses, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

The king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of queen Elizabeth, which was sent to him by the count de Beaumont *, our ambassador at London: his majesty, thereupon, resolved to hasten his departure from that city. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death † of this great

* Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

† Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report, and the com-

mon opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-queen,

queen, which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and Henry in particular, who could not hope in the successor of Elizabeth, to find the same favourable disposition to all his designs as he had in this princess, “the irreconcilable enemy of his irreconcilable enemies, and a second self:” such were the terms which Henry made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

1603.

His majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined, as I have already said, to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose; I repeat his words, and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity

reproach for being the cause of the earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shewn the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and some others say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say, that, like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign: nevertheless, I acquiesce in the elo-

gy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish; she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, *Prefixe, Journal de Hen. IV. La Septennaire, an. 1603. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209.* and other French historians.

which

1603.

which he said I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germain-laye, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, compleated a tour of two months.

I had received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him extremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Monglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his buildings * at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arsenal, and for other works, of which I had the inspection and conduct, and which had been partly the subjects of those letters I had received from him; therein he had also directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called The Hall of Antiquities.

After I had, in a concise but satisfactory manner, replied to all these articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered some of his guards to be placed. The embassy to England was the sole subject of our conversation. His majesty had at first imparted to his court his resolution to send this embassy, but without

* Henry IV. built the new Seine, and formed its beautiful castle of Saint-Germain, extended terrasses, the gardens to the banks of the

1603.
naming the person whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited some murmurs among the partisans of the Pope and Spain; and it was said, that Henry sought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majesty, notwithstanding, declared publicly his intention to invest me with this employment, their disgust then shewed itself without restraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reason to think was made up of my most inveterate enemies, boldly represented to his majesty, that to send a huguenot to treat concerning the interest of the kingdom, with a prince of the same religion, would be highly dangerous to the state; and more especially so, were he intrusted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majesty to revoke my nomination, they contented themselves with getting my commission confined only to condolences upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at most, to an inspection into the state of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer on the principal occasion of my journey.

Henry, at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view: and he further confirmed this his resolution, by judiciously observing, that an embassy, whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony, would be useless and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new king of England pursue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would, doubtless, depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its antient partisans: but he confessed to

1603. me, that this point appeared to him, in all respects, so extremely difficult, that unless it was managed with the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me, in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile of La Riviere's, which he often used, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtle poisons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the best advantage of both, by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said, I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and perhaps to a necessity of revenging them: and as to the more secret propositions, which, at proper opportunity, I should make to king James, he said it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid hastening, by any imprudent step, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or, at least, far from being concluded. His majesty supposed, that all causes of dissatisfaction might, as much as it was possible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, such instructions, in regard to my embassy, as should appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, should not prevent my seconding his majesty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might present; provided, nevertheless, that I did it as of myself, and without giving this prince

prince to understand, that I was authoris'd herein by the king my master. 1603.

What his majesty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of such great consequence, that I desired him to grant me four days to consider of it, before I gave him my answer. I immediately set out post for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I easily persuaded myself to comply with the king's desires, but I thought it a necessary precaution to have his majesty's more immediate avowal and authority for all these propositions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myself, without which I thought it would be risking too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the best claim; but I was sensible, that, by this, I should be obliged to break through those bounds of circumspection, which, in France, I had prescribed to myself, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reason to doubt but that, whatever words might escape me, which in this respect should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive, that something of this kind should be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill humour; and sometimes one of these moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

All these considerations confirmed me in a resolution, not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the

1603. king of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and shew that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arsenal to receive my answer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying, that I was full of fears lest any part of my conduct, on this occasion, should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

We were at this instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his ministers, so zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them assurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propositions which I was to make this prince were also enumerated, but I shall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand design: I was also directed to desire the king of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further (supposing king James approved them) I should feign to defer communicating to the king my master what might be agreed between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably

favourably received by the northern crowns, and the states-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majesty.

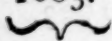
1603.

Such was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the king, on his side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the king of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the best of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did scarce permit us even to think of this.

In regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on occasion of a violent disorder, which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May*: this was so strong a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dis-

* The king, says the marechal de Bassompierre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile) the result of their consultations were in

these terms: *Abstineat à quavis muliere, etiam regina; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos vitam cum morte commutat.* Henry the IVth did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

1603.  patched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message. "My friend, I find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable God will soon dispose of me; and it being my duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the necessary dispositions to secure the succession to my children, that their reign may be prosperous, and may promote the happiness of my wife, my kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my dear people, whom I love equally with my own children, I desire to confer with you on all these matters: come to me therefore with all diligence, and say nothing of it to any one; make an appearance only of going to the conventicle at Ablon; and having privately ordered post-horses to be there in readiness, proceed immediately to this place."

The perusal of this most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed; the queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and said, "My good friend, draw near and embrace me, I am extremely glad you are come; is it not strange that, two hours after I wrote to you, my excessive pains should begin to abate? I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me, for I have made water three times, the last most profusely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This, said he, of all my servants, is he who best understands, and is most careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had I been taken from you, would have been best able to serve both you and my children: I know, indeed, that his temper is somewhat austere, that he is often rather too plain for such a spirit as yours, and that, on this account, many have endeavoured to prejudice you and my children against him, that he might be removed

" from

“ from you ; but if ever this event should happen, 1603.
“ and you should employ such and such persons
“ (naming them softly in her ear) and, instead of
“ following the good counsels of this man, should
“ be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon
“ it, it will prove destructive to the state, and may,
“ perhaps, ruin my children and yourself. I have
“ sent thus suddenly for him, that, with him and
“ you, I might consult upon the means to prevent
“ these evils, but I thank God my precautions will
“ probably not yet be necessary.”

Couriers upon couriers were the next day dispatched, to dissipate the disagreeable rumours which were already spread in all places. I did not myself return to Paris, till I had seen the king make water: he would have it so, and he did it twice with such facility, that I was perfectly satisfied all danger was over. Three days after I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in the left arm by La Rivierie the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having rested well the whole night, found himself grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the interest I seemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occasion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promised to observe what I had said. He was already able to be as circumstantial as usual in those details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to send two hundred crowns to each of the persons afflicted with the evil, whom his own disorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheless he would not send back. Herein also, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had sent him. His majesty's physicians were unanimous, on this occasion, in making him the same representations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exercise in hunting. He

1603. followed their advice, and found himself considerably better for it: he also received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for some time, during which the young prince's daughter was taken so ill, that her life was despaired of; both the king and the dauphin his son went frequently to see her.

Together with this letter from his majesty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroy wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majesty had sent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; also that I was expected by his Britannic majesty, who attributed my delay to the king's indisposition, and to the baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James the VIth * to the crown of England. The baron Du-Tour was, for this purpose, sent by James to his most christian majesty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau,

* Henry Stuart, baron of Darnley, duke of Rothesay, &c. espoused Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; she having after his death retired into Scotland. He was strangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at first king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his son, and died in 1625. On his accession to the crown of England, the marquis of Rosny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, at that time his ambassador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully.

To the Scots ambassador.
SIR,

" The interest you have in the
" prosperity of the affairs of the
" king of Scotland, joined to the

" desire I have to do you service,
" have induced me to write to you,
" that by the letter which I have
" just received from the governor
" of Dieppe, you might be informed
" of the decease of the queen of
" England, of the accession, reception,
" and acknowledgment of the king
" of Scotland, to that crown, and that all things there
" are in a state of peace and tranquillity;
" for which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the desire of every good man.

" SIR,

" Your most humble cousin
" and servant."

Signed ROSNY.

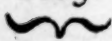
where

1603.

where he acquitted himself of his commission. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure for England, for these reasons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would soon send for me, and inform me of the day: but his majesty changed his intention in this respect, and came himself to Paris. The heat which had begun early this year was excessive, and rendered the sands of Fontainebleau insupportable to one but just recovering from sickness.

Two days after his majesty's arrival at Paris, he assembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maïsse, and Sillery, on the subject of my departure, and that I might receive my public instructions in their presence. When I entered the king's closet, where this council was held, I told his majesty that the count of Soissons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me necessary that he likewise should be introduced to be a witness of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had just said, he would take occasion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soisson's resentment still subsisted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reason to expect from me; he thanked me for it, assured me that he would forget the past, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in these sentiments.

The principal object of these instructions had always been a close alliance between France and England against Spain, notwithstanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partisans of that crown in France. The principal difference between these, and the secret instructions which I had received from his majesty, was, that in the former he had concealed the true motives to this alliance: I will not transcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumstantial. The substance of

1603.  them was briefly as follows: to take every opportunity of discoursing upon, and informing the king of England, of all the unjust and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inspire him with an aversion to that crown: to represent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new usurpations in Italy; her secret practices in England, by means of the Jesuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the sanction of the authority which the pope pretends to have over those kingdoms; her designs upon Strasbourg, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to consent to the pope's giving the coadjutorship of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain universal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In consequence of these representations, the king of England must either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or secret war against that crown: in the first case, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get possession of the Low Countries: after which, she would not fail to turn her arms either against France or England; and most probably towards the latter, on account of the pope's long inveteracy to it. I was also to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report industriously spread by Spain, that she had no intention to get possession of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a distinct kingdom, such as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a last resource, I was to insist, that Spain should at least be made to purchase this peace at a high price, or should be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and especially that she should give up Ostend. In case an open war should be resolved upon, I was to endeavour to discover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if possible prevent it, and represent to him the necessity of beginning by giving a powerful assistance to the States.

Finally,

Finally, if a secret war was resolved upon, in which I was to use my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this case I was to represent to him, that prudence required he should begin by strengthening himself upon the throne, securing it to his descendants, and by gaining Europe in his interests; so that Spain might be one day irresistibly attacked: that till this was effected, it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitless employment of her forces against Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, should not be declared till they had begun the execution of their designs. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the succours which were provisionally to be given the States; and prevent the English council from demanding the three hundred thousand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, lest they might thereby be induced to throw themselves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to persuade his Britannic majesty to be at new expences, equal with his most Christian majesty, in favour of these people, and to assist them with the same number of ships as queen Elizabeth had done; also to obtain permission, that the four hundred and fifty thousand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies should require in Flanders; and that three hundred thousand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the seven hundred and fifty thousand livres which Henry obliged himself to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thousand livres for the present necessities of the States-General. In case I could not gain a compliance with these articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thousand livres discharged, France obliging herself to pay it; also, to manage this affair in such a manner,

1603.

ner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as securities for these succours; and to sound his intentions in regard to those of which he was already possessed in Zealand. In pursuance of this plan, I was to consult with Barnevelt, to act in concert with him and the States deputies at London, seem attached to their interests, entertain them with agreeable hopes, persuade them that their interests were the care of the British council, without giving umbrage to this council, and make the best advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

These were the principal points of my instructions: there were some others which did not relate to the same subject, or at least not immediately; such was that in regard to the piracies of the English. I was charged to complain, that since the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a dissolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being disadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the same privileges and immunities in England that the English had in France. The close union between Elizabeth and Henry had caused all things to be equal on both sides during the reign of that queen, and his treaty was then considered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumspect on this head, and even to entirely suppress it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any risque of raising a suspicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herself had not been exempt, that France only sought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which she would then easily extricate herself. If what the baron Du-Tour had said in France, of his Britannic majesty's resolution to succour Ostend, should appear to be well-ground-
ed,

ed, I might then spare myself part of these precautions.

1603.

The manner in which I was to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Spain and the arch-dukes; the attention which I was to bestow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the justification of Beaumont, against whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the same privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: these were other articles of my instructions. There was one article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in respect to whom I was to be silent, unless the king of England should speak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this case I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may observe, that the subject of my negotiations were sufficiently extensive, for I was to gain a knowledge of the dispositions of the king and people of England, not only with respect to Spain and Flanders, but also to the northern crowns: to say the truth, the political state of all Europe was concerned in my ensuing conduct and its consequences.

These instructions *, in which, to my other titles, his majesty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in presence of the count of Soissons, Sillery, and Jeannin, signed by his majesty and Villeroi. Henry also gave me six letters, one from his majesty to the king of England, besides another for the same prince for form-sake counter-signed; two others, in the same manner, from the king to the queen of Eng-

* The original of these instructions, signed with Henry IV's own hand, is still in being; as also another piece, written by M. de Rosny, bearing this title, *Memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de*

Villeroi, according to his desire, to assist him in preparing my instructions. This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embassy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

land,

1603. land, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majesty also gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewise secretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he presented me his hand to kiss, then embraced me and wished me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good success.

The beginning of June I set out for Calais, where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him scarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself master of what he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which
we

we call learned, but also all the different jargons or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verses; he played upon almost all instruments, was a perfect master of music, and sung most agreeably and justly; he likewise could say mass; for he was of a disposition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well suited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all exercises; he could ride well, and in dancing, wrestling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was skilled in almost all mechanic arts. But now for the reverse of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society; the truth of which he himself evinced with his latest breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glass in his hand, cursing and denying God.

From the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majesty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I used only the common character; my general cyphers I used for such matters as were to be known only to the council; and my secret cypher I employed in what I addressed to the king
him-

1603. himself, which was to be seen only by him : his majesty chose to have the greatest part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering so great, that he at last entrusted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himself well skilled in it ; but the difficulty which I experienced myself in the use of this cypher, whenever I wanted to descend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my letters : however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negotiations with king James.

I staid a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me : and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambassadors from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprises of the English, cruizers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers ; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect ; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

* Dominic De-Vic, signior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice admiral of France : he died in 1610.

I embarked the 15th of June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility: but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of shewing the English his resentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant-mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I represented: and I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty shot were immediately fired against De-Vic's † ship. It was

1603.

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whose testimony hereupon is of great weight, more especially as they agree in it, both say, that the captain of the English ship in which de Rosny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I suspect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have somewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned: "De-Vic, vice-admiral of France, soon after he had cast anchor in Dover-road (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de Rosny) sailed from thence on his return to Calais, and passing by the ship on board of which M. de Rosny then was, he ordered his flag to be hoisted, and gave him a salute; soon after which, the flag was again taken in. The English captain of the ship where in M. de Rosny was, seeing the French flag hoisted, commanded his men to fire upon the vice-

admiral of France, swearing he would suffer no flag to be seen in these seas but that of England. A gun was immediately fired upon De-Vic's ship, who, having demanded the reason of it, prepared to defend himself. M. de Rosny complained of it to the English captain, and represented the firing this shot as an offence done to himself; but he talked to a man who refused to hear reason, and who answered him only with rage and fury; he was therefore forced to submit, and made a sign to the vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic thinking himself injured, demanded satisfaction of the English admiral; who answered him, that the king of England, his master, did not permit what the captain had presumed to do, desired that he would excuse his indiscretion, &c. and promised that nothing like it should ever happen again. This reply appeased and quieted all parties," Chron. Septen. and

with

1603. with great difficulty that I made myself heard ; which, however, I at last effected, by representing to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour ; and also to give me a more distinguished mark of his respect, by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this ; and my English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next discharge at random. I made a signal to De-Vic, which he perfectly well understood, and took in his flag ; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them. Though I much question, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened : be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I arrived at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England, which Gondy had in

Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Rich-lieu, in his Testament Politique, makes use of this as an argument, to demonstrate to Lewis XIII. the absolute necessity there was for a naval power : " The cannon-shot," says he, by piercing the vessel, " pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen ; and if the words " of king James were civil, yet " were they of no other effect, " than to oblige the duke of Sully " to obtain his satisfaction from " his own prudence, by feigning to " be contented, tho' his discontent, " and his reason for it, was really " greater, and farther from being " removed than ever. The king, " your father, was under a necessity to use dissimulation on this

" occasion, but he did it with the " resolution, whenever it might " again be necessary, to maintain " the just rights of his crown by " such a naval force as time would " furnish him with the means to " acquire." Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may farther observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired king James to grant him, passes it over very slightly ; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

France,

France, being that part of the reception of ambassadors, which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or chariots, and other things of this nature: the mayor of Dover also came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were so great, that it was said, that nothing like it had ever before been seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

The governor of this place sent his nephew to me, to desire I would come with him and see the castle, he not being able to wait on me himself, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a second, from which I conceived a good opinion of the person by whom they were sent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might justly have fallen upon myself, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the castle the next day, with all my retinue; but I soon discovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of those who have the curiosity to see the castle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myself, quit their swords. Being introduced to the governor, whose name was Thomas Wymes, he received us seated in his chair, but, perceiving that some of us were looking at the towers and walls of the castle, he put on so sour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid lest our presence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be said or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeness; and this proved to be no unnecessary caution.

1603.

When we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer shewed himself that polite and obliging person, who but just before had demanded a list of those who accompanied me, that, as he said, they might all be furnished with the necessary horses and chariots: and I could not but suppose his sole design, in getting this list, was that he might send it to London; for he suffered all my retinue to provide themselves horses as well as they could, and at their own cost; and these mild people lent them at so high a price, and at the same time with so much arrogance, that they seemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our sentiments of so rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I had more reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and respects, they pretended to have received orders so to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a small city, but extremely populous, and so polite that, in no other place I received such distinguished honours and civilities as there; some came to kiss my boot, others to kiss my hands, and others to make me presents of flowers; all which must be attributed not to the English of this city (they every where preserve their character of aversion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemish, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at last almost entirely changed it, and at this day, compose two thirds of its inhabitants. I visited the church, and was present at the service, wherein the music was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons understood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their caresses and civilities: one of them shewed himself so well affected to France,

as to give me an information of some consequence, 1603. which was afterwards confirmed by Aërsens to Henry himself. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me, as one of my secretaries; and being informed that this was the son of his old friend, he came to see him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the secretary of count Aremberg*, ambassador from the archduke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

Here my lord Sidney came and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Aremberg, was my lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some contempt from the king of England; but, afterwards reflecting that the quality of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others by his

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbancon, count of Aremberg,

1603. direction, paid me. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be shewn. Beaumont addressed himself to Sidney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and confidants of king James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged if necessary.

At Gravesend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I scarce ever heard a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the house of the count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The confluence of people was so great, that we could scarce open ourselves a passage.

This very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took

took me aside, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired, having first expressed to me his zeal, that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince: after him my lord Sidney came and made me the same request, by ingeniously telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being first deputed to me, and the respect and attachment which he had for his most christian majesty, might merit my reserving for him at least some part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I should not disclose myself entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived these gentlemen had a mutual jealousy of each other, and contended who should be the first that should give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to say, the former received only false, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little consequence, and such as I should have been glad to see published.

They both made what use of them they thought proper: as to myself I supped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for so short a time had not been sufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was destined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the finest, and from its great number of apartments upon the same floor, the most commodious in London: but this greatly embarrassed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houses and apartments were sought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refused to receive us, on account of the misbehaviour which they had but

1603. lately experienced in some of marechal Biron's people; the greatest part therefore had like to have been obliged to pass the night in the street.

It must indeed be confessed, that, if what I heard on this subject was true, Biron, by the excesses which he had suffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they may be of use in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I was fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority: and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour: but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almost immediately.

I was the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town: at the same place they met with some English, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the English was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings.

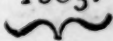
The

The affair soon began to appear of great consequence; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis D'Oraison, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but, observing them come in at different times by three and four together, and with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and, having questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

The honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negotiation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved, that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the house (which was about a hundred) to range themselves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to discover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty by his agitation and fear: he was for denying it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the English and you are at variance, if you are capable of preferring the interest of yourself and your relations, to that of the king and the public: but the service of the king my master, and the safety of so many gentlemen of good fami-

1603. "lies, shall not suffer for such an imprudent stripping as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir, cried Beaumont, behead a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred thousand crowns, an only son; it is but an ill recompence for the trouble he has given himself, and the expence he has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone, "I had no occasion for such company:" and to be short, I desired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him present in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce sentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldest and the wisest of my retinue, and the affair being presently determined, I sent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to desire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for answer, that his first care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him justice, and that he was just coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the sentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either because my severity had disarmed his, or, which seemed most probable, because he had already suffered himself to be gained by presents from the friends of the criminal. I sent again to this magistrate to inform him, that as no superior authority, nor respect for any person whatever, had determined me to pronounce this sentence, I could not consent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I should justify the king my master, and give the English nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occasion which my duty required; therefore in such an affair, I could only acquit myself of it by committing it to him, and by resigning the prisoner to such punishment as justice

1603.


justice and the laws of England required. I accordingly sent Combaut to him; so that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who, without much difficulty, obtained this magistrate's consent to set Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me: on the contrary, I perceived both the French and English seemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended so well for Combaut; and the consequence of this to me, with respect to the English and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

This removed at least one obstacle to the success of my negotiation; but there still remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular persons, according as their different interests might incline them to traverse it. It is certain, that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate, that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions; it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and insolent, nor more conceited of its superior excellence: were they to be believed, understanding and common sense are to be found only among them; they are obstinately wedded to all their own opinions, and despise those of every other nation, and to hear others, or suspect themselves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themselves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: sometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the instability of the element by which they are surrounded; with them all things must submit to the reigning dispositions, and the sole difference between them and any the most inconstant people in Europe, is, that their inconstancy proceeds not from lightness, but from

1603.

from their vanity, which continually shews itself in a thousand different shapes. Their self-love renders themselves slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing, or being able to give a reason; they are accordingly so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them for the same persons, and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surpris'd on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

From this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a king of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe*.

France therefore can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own

* I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only say, that he

has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences, is, that those prejudices and partialities which were the cause of hatred and jealousy have hereby been dissipated.

interior

interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity: but let the sovereign shew himself a lover of peace, disinterested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain to preserve all his neighbours in that dependance which is only durable, because it conciliates the affections, instead of subjecting the persons *.

I dare farther maintain that peace is the great and common interest of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preserving it between the greater powers, by all the most gentle and persuasive means; and the greater powers should force the lesser into it, if necessary, by assisting the weak and oppressed; this is the only use they ought to make of their superiority. When I consider Europe as composed of such civilized people, I cannot but be astonished that she still continues to be governed by principles so narrow, and customs so barbarous. What is the consequence of that profound policy of which she is so vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the resource in all places and upon all occasions; she knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the sole resource of the most inconsiderable sovereign, as well as of the greatest potentate;

* It is not surprizing to hear such reasoning as this now we have acquired juster notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at so great a degree of glory, that conquests can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion must we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him establishing principles, in ap-

pearance so improper for the states of misery and weakness, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at least from whence it was but just recovered? It is by such true, solid, and wise maxims as these, that the Memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able ministers have since drawn inestimable treasures.

the

1603. the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with less noise, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may shew his grandeur, though in reality he only shews himself more signally despicable. Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheless, we have so effectually confounded this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the English.

The court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions; and from this circumstance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, private and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or from the lights I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontented, and, in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely: some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, because, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in
a com-

a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two. 1603.

The second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the antient kingdom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high treasurer, and Cecil the secretary of state, at least, as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest: he had borne the principal sway in the late government, and he endeavoured with the same subtilty to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction, composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connection with those before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

Nothing could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible

1603.

impossible to foretel which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known, besides, that his accession to such a crown as that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised, but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they would have also separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

King James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, *Captain of arts and clerk of arms*. There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the antient pretences of England upon France,

France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had some erudition; though less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state-affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife*.

The character of this princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to shew that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she

* Anne, daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain; she died in 1619.

1603.

was still in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent, but she was very little affected by it.

Instead of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and against the king's express desire, appointed herself a great chamberlain of her household. She was also attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland, because endeavours had been used to persuade the public, that his death was only feigned. She also brought with her the prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern absolutely, and whom, it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more happy, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness, and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of those princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it is said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition, by having him sent to be educated in Spain.

Thus I have given some account of the state of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the rest of the principal persons who composed it, will more particularly appear in the ensuing part of these Memoirs.

Here therefore I will only add, that besides count d'Arenberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Nassau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambassador from his Catholic majesty, and the envoys from Sweden * and Denmark, were also hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests, to be of the utmost importance to them.

The first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London were those of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witnesses of our conversation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

This general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person

* Christiern IV.

1603. who spoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was, to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper, in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preserve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low-Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments; and though he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject, by informing me, that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation, no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

Notwithstanding all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me, that no one, after the king, had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined, that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king

1603.

king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance, no more than the observation which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; having before then refused both to see or speak to the prince of Nassau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of *seditionous rebels*. These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables, I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I gave then a more positive answer to Barnevelt * their principal, when he came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his colleagues, began by magnifying the misery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the states could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these com-

* John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

1603.

plaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I told Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes, for that Henry was not at all disposed, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a war, in which, supposing the king of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say any thing positive to them, till I had at least sounded the dispositions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt, having been at London for a considerable time, might reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having from the first been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counsellors, and his own passive disposition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction the Flemish should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having, perhaps, been made sensible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire; these considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

These

These informations which I received from Barnevelt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation, or, at best, irresolution; for those of his ministers, whom I had reason to believe were best acquainted with the secrets of his councils, upon every occasion constantly said, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any of the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

Barnevelt finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confidant of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer hesitated to discover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of so important a secret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had resolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furnish them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in case they found themselves too closely pressed by the English and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunswic and Vandrelep, offering Ostend to be

1603. sequestrated till the conclusion of the treaty; that during this interval, some event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at least for the present, a stop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain against Ostend.

In order to understand what is here said of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is necessary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns *, as a security for the money which she had lent them, with this gracious clause in their favour, That they should not give her the possession of them, unless they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her consent. As to the other treaty it was proposed, in the height of the hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the contested countries under the power of the house of Austria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which possessed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is most probable, both, were the cause of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunswic, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain still preserved, or had regained in Flanders, should be comprehended in the treaty; because, said they, they risked too much by being so near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

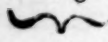
In the afternoon of this day, I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic: he was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barnevelt had been; for his state was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before strongly

* Fleissingue and Brille.

suspected;

1603.
suspected, of the irresolution of James ; he told me, that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the high sounding words *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less ; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none ; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when king of Scotland ; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with ; all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

These reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour : but James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Plessis, and himself, and had bore in their opinions so favourable an aspect : this scheme was to make the king of England protector of the calvinist party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blanc. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni : he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed

1603.  me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

The same day also count d'Arenberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the king. All that passed between me and this nobleman consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

The king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-second, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was also added the present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace; the reason was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majesties was to me a presage of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chace should prevent it; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chace, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute

contribute to its success, that he generally sent me to pursue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his British majesty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the same time, sent him half my present. 1603.

One part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue should appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreigner, or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princess, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided.

I should have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were positive, not to mention that they were almost laudable; and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont's representations, who entreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erskine and some others, who were best acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I still persisted in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary.

1603. contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront, and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the success of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with those of my lord Sidney, the viscount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear lest a greater evil should ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Lewkener coming the next morning to inform me that I should be presented to the king at three o' clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance; nevertheless it publicly gained me almost as much honour, as if I had persisted in my intention, because none were ignorant that I had complied only through absolute necessity.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XV.

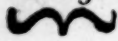
THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and escorted me to the Thames, whose banks they lined whilst I went down to Greenwich. This passage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, selected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace. 1603.

I entered into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an established custom in England, never to treat ambassadors, nor even to offer them a glass of water. His majesty having sent to desire my appearance in his presence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occasioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and because I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no sooner perceived me than he descended two steps, and would have descended them all,

1603. all, so very desirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his ministers, who stood next him, whispered softly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. " If, said he aloud, I shew this " ambassador particular marks of honour, and such " as are contrary to custom, I mean not thereby to " give a precedent to others: I particularly love " and esteem him for the affection which I know " he has for me, for his firmness in our religion, " and his fidelity to his master." I dare not repeat all that he said to my advantage. I received so obliging a favour with all due respect; and replied, not by an harangue, such as some may, perhaps, expect to see here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleased; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more suitable to my situation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the accession of James to the throne of England, the praises of the two kings; all these I comprised in very few words. I excused myself from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his most Christian majesty's having himself explained his sentiments in his letters, which I at the same time presented, distinguishing to his Britannic majesty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himself, and then gave them to Cecil; expressing, at the same time, how sensible he was of their contents, by these words, " That he had not left in Scotland the ardor with " which he had always loved the king of France, " and desired the prosperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majesty, though in the style of common conversation; for that of haranguing was extremely disagreeable to me. I said, that Henry had given public demonstrations of his joy, on seeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was so worthy of it, and for his having been so readily and universally acknowledged; that if there had been occasion for the presence of his most Christian majesty, he would have given proofs of
of

of his sincere attachment to his interests, and union with his person, and have come with pleasure to any place where his presence might have been necessary. I did repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always commendable, said he, to overcome evil with good." But that he had had the double satisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendship with France, for another that was not less so. The late queen was mentioned on this occasion, but without one word in her praise.

After this, his majesty being desirous to discourse longer and more familiarly with me, he made me ascend all the steps leading to the throne. I took this occasion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of sincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the discourses attributed to Henry, to me and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confessed that he had for some time believed them, but that he had at last discovered the whole to be only an artifice of their common enemies, who, by using such means, to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said; and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind
to

1603.  to think of the great chimera's of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the king of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: which conduct was equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the resentment which he shewed against Spain, before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this subject to that of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the king

1603.

king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Here-upon James said, that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me, as it were by interrupting himself, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince, that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all these false reports, and succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely sorry; and this was, that his physicians had forbid him the chase. To this I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chase, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our conversation, he, in his answer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in pursuance to the advice of his physicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he used to be, and that since my departure he had been at the death of five or six stags without the least inconvenience. "Well," said the king of England to me, still continuing the same subject, "I understand you have sent part of the produce of my sport to count d'Aremberg; and how do you think he received it? I assure you, it was not at all agreeable to him. He says, you sent it only to shew that you was more regarded than he; and he is in the right, for I will surely make some difference between my good brother

" the

1603. " the king of France, and his masters, who have
 " sent me an ambassador who can neither walk
 " nor talk; he demanded an audience of me in
 " a garden, because he could not walk up stairs into
 " a room." James then asked me, whether the
 Spanish ambassador, who had been sent to him, had
 passed through France? and upon my replying that
 he had: " Spain, said he, sends me an ambassador
 " post, that he may arrive the sooner, and finish
 " our affairs in post-haste." Thus upon every oc-
 casion he inveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis*,
 courier-major to his Catholic majesty, had, in effect,
 taken his rout through France into Flanders, from
 thence to repair to London; and this journey he
 had performed with great expedition, though his
 orders extended no farther, than merely to discover
 the intentions of the king of England. The real
 ambassador was Valasco †, constable of Castile,
 who soon followed him.

After all this, James asked me (for he did not
 dwell long upon one subject) whether I went to the
 protestant church in London? Upon my replying
 that I did: " Then, said he, you are not resolved, as
 " I have been informed, to quit our religion, after
 " the example of Sancy, who thought by that con-
 " descension to make his fortune; but by God's
 " providence, did just the contrary." I treated this
 report as a calumny, and said, that my living in
 France in friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and
 being so frequently visited by the Pope's nuncio,
 might perhaps have given rise to it. " Do you
 " give the Pope the title of Holiness?" said James.
 I replied, " That to conform to the custom establish-
 " ed in France, I did." He was then for prov-
 ing to me, that this custom was an offence against
 God, to whom alone this title could justly belong.
 I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was

* John Taxis, count of Villa-
 Mediana.

† John Ferdinand de Velasco,
 duke of Frias.

not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve. He spoke to me of Du-Plessis, and appeared somewhat concerned for his fortune and present condition : he said, that I ought not entirely to forget him ; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publish his last book under his own name ; because, by the titles which he therein gave himself, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it ; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the services which he had rendered the protestant religion. He said not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon ; but he highly approved Henry's chastisement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he said, an ambitious and turbulent man.

1603.

I think I have omitted nothing of any consequence of what was said to me by the king of England, in this my first audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, saying, it would be time for me to go to supper, and to my repose. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accosted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain. Erskine, in conducting me cross the court of the palace, spoke to me of his attachment to his most Christian majesty, and his desire of being ranked amongst the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, said pretty near the same to me : no one amongst the English lords has more understanding, capacity, courage, nor possessed more authority than he : he manifested a great desire to have a private conversation with me upon the present affairs. I gathered from what he said, though he did not speak in plain terms, that he was not satisfied with the government ; that he blamed the greatest part of the king's actions ; in short, to say it in a

VOL. III. K word,

1603.

word, that he had no great share either of fidelity or esteem for James. It is not necessary to say with what reserve and circumspection I listened to such discourse.

The open declaration which the king of England had made against Spain, had given me some hopes that the court of London would be insensibly prejudiced against that court. In the interval between my first and second audience, several things happened which increased these hopes. An English catholic, who was likewise a jesuit (as was at first reported) was seized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being questioned, he confessed that he had disguised himself in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppression of the new king of England, unless he re-established the romish religion in his dominions solely, or, at least, with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the protestants, and unless he likewise declared himself against the protestants of Holland; that eight other jesuits had conspired with him in this design, and that they had actually dispersed themselves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to destroy this prince. But the report was false, in regard to the person of this suspected Englishman, for he was not a jesuit *, but only a seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or at least till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a re-

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, charges the jesuits with having any concern in this conspiracy, which is the same that will be mentioned below.

volution,

volution, which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

1603.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London: this, said they, was to favour the Spanish faction; which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to shew themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shewn to her memory: nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence to myself, that I refrained following such a general example.

I believe the Spanish faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for instead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it said, that so far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendship and alliance, it was not even safe to contract with her; that the ambassador of this court had not dared to present himself in London, and that most certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majesty was compared with that of his most christian majesty. Henry's procedure appeared so open and ingenuous, and so far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it:

1602. he, said they, would never have sent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was most necessary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myself, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of those characters, whose conclusion is generally that of beholding one's self at once both dishonoured and sacrificed to the public indignation. In short, if a union between the two crowns, which I proposed, was not in all respects the best conduct that they could pursue, it was at least the safest; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings should consider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they sometimes reasoned in the council, and in the presence of the king of England, very much to the satisfaction of those counsellors who were in our interests, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almost public profession which he made of attachment to France, here used his utmost interest and endeavours.

But all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost entirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only scarce appeared surmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil, were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he

he could not but be baffled notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himself, and, making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of power of all men, should remain unknown only to them? But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

Supposing also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt, whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to show to the earl of Essex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been

1603. of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference, that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in presence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erskine, who was present three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which in my presence they had kept a profound silence. A strange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made some discovery of what sort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been present at a meeting of these ambassadors, wherein only those of his majesty's council and the states-deputies were admitted; that here, instead of labouring mutually to strengthen themselves in laudable resolutions, each of them had only sought to draw himself out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Danish deputy represented, that indeed his master possessed a great extent of territory, but for the most part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its situation, rather expensive than profitable; that the submission and tractableness of the people was an advantage of no use to the king his master, because, from the prodigious variation of their manners and customs, he could neither understand them, nor could they understand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to establish a general

neral and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprife. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary, seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that, I confess, I am at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure: he spoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly, and intimated that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from a saying of the king of England, That every new king, if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence; concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North * with some little attention, we shall perceive they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

* The times are changed; and have done justice to the wisdom I do not doubt if the author had and policy of some of the Nor-
lived in our days, but he would thern powers.

1603.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires; for barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at most but very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected because Aersens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me, was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy one night when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

From the moment king James ascended the throne of England, said this secretary, the king of Spain has not ceased to solicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archduke's, or by the English catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him, against France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially that his Britannic majesty, had a title so clear and incontestable to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in him not to make use of it, at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom pre-

sented

1603.

sented so fair an opportunity : and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this enterprise, were, that James and his catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England ; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain ; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His catholic majesty, for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretensions upon the United-Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that, in consideration of this favour, they would consent to strengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The king of England having made no answer to all these great offers, farther than by saying, that they were premature, and that he chose to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new subjects, and by strengthening himself upon the throne, Spain easily perceived that this reply was a civil refusal ; and James not being disposed by open force to attempt the recovery of his antient possessions, Spain then turned her endeavours to persuade this prince, at least to favour the French provinces in their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke ; the Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have every where reported that it only depended on themselves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquility without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under shelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cause to apprehend either the resentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, because care would be taken at the same time to involve

1603. involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under a necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this second proposition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he should conclude no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United-Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appears so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion, yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, both between themselves and with the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments.

That

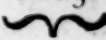
That article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the States as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she would herein have been more grossly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that too of their antient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought; they upon all occasions have constantly said that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them; and if sometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories, which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërsens must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter, could be sufficiently depended upon: the first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they

1603.

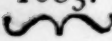
they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence; which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even that they should come to his ears, but only with design to encrease the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was in these terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who sometimes considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

The day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday the 25th; that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, said he, that I may confer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London

don to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in 1603. 
 France, had had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his most christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds *, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

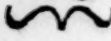
Immediately upon my entrance this prince arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve and without witnesses; "Not, said I, " that the king my master has sent me to require " any thing of your majesty, but only to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs " wherein your majesties may both be equally concerned; and that the king my master may conform to them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which, said he, " it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between " three of its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Steuart. He said, that of these

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

1603.  three powers, the house of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marechal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprize upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures, in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded such laudable sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it: nor could I have said any thing further on the subject, had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me, that, having promised a little, he should perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his christian majesty; and that Henry only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment

ment of that crown, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years past; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indispensably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to sap the foundation of so vast a dominion, it was therefore absolutely necessary now to concert the proper measures for it, that no step might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preservation of the United Provinces might be provisionally secured, was all that I had to desire of his majesty. "But," said the king of England, what better assistance would you that the king of France and I should give the Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us in a general treaty of partition and pacification between them and Spain, upon conditions of which we shall ourselves be guarantees? whereby, should Spain first fail in the observation of them, we shall then have just reason to take arms against her, and drive her entirely out of these provinces: and I consent, added he, upon a supposition that this will be the case, immediately to determine with you, what means and what forces we shall employ for the execution of it." James was not sensible of all the objections to this partition-treaty which he proposed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear satisfied with what he proposed, but during the delays which

1603.  which negotiating this treaty would produce, especially with a court whose dilatoriness was one of the chief arts of her policy, Ostend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being separated from it; and Spain would in the mean time strengthen herself in what she did possess, and would be preparing the means for succeeding more effectually in her design of subjecting the rest of this state.

I desired his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious reflection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immersed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right; that the affair was of great consequence; that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me; and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced, that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not the least room for doubt; that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English counsellors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the king
of

1603.

}

of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn those forces against France, which I would persuade him to employ against Spain.

James entered of himself into the sentiments with which I wanted to inspire him, with respect to his council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the same opinion with some of his courtiers, in what concerned the antient pretensions of England upon France; and besides that the present conjuncture and political state of affairs did not permit him to think seriously about them, he also considered these pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irresistibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whose prescription was more than centenary; which words he repeated several times: that this consideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previously assure me, that whatever his final resolution might be, at least he would not suffer the United-Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the present I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor press him to a conclusion, till he had first conferred with two or three of his ministers, whose knowledge, as well as honesty, he was well convinced of; that besides, from the reflections which I had suggested to him, he was now able to distinguish and resist the voice of passion and prejudice: and lastly, that he would in a short time acquaint me with what might be farther necessary for me to know, in regard to his sentiments and final resolution.

I should be very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head so soon, but James broke it off, by saying, that he should finish the remainder of it another time, because he wanted now to have some conversation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector Palatine had strongly solicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well ac-

1603. acquainted with the affair, he had refused to concern himself in it at all, through fear, lest he should favour a rebel. He desired me to relate to him all the circumstances of it: which I accordingly did very succinctly; so that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be solicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himself in it; and said, he wished others would meddle as little in the affairs of the English catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these last words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to understand what is here meant, it is necessary to be informed, that some time before the death of Elizabeth the partisans of Spain, having, as usual, the jesuits at their head, had raised disturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Though religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either because the king of Spain, as his flatterers had persuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were so well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretensions, or because he sought to involve the successor of Elizabeth in such perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing else. The jesuits, upon this occasion, very imprudently, it should seem, had differed with the English catholic secular clergy: this was chiefly occasioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-priest *, which the English catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this occasion, for reasons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with those jesuits, nor

* Cardinal D'Ossat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, says, that at the suggestion of an English jesuit, whose name was father Personio (or Parsons) rector of the English college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was so to any, the Pope created in England a certain

arch-priest, to whose authority all the ecclesiastics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be subject. By this means, adds he, it was proposed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

Spain, but, on the contrary, listened very favourably to the secular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a passport under the hand of Cecil himself: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought she ought to defend the seculars; and also, that she looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the same opinion with Elizabeth, and the common interest had from the first determined him to support the English clergy at the court of Rome against the Spanish cabal. 1603.

From hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occasion to prejudice James against us *, by insinuating to him, that Henry had supported the English clergy only with design to gain them in his own interests, and that from the same views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this respect. I represented to him, that Henry having considered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spanish interests, was a point of the utmost consequence; he had therefore been indispensably obliged to appear in their favour upon several occasions; but that he had been so far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any design prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his sole intention had been to oppose this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the least from their duty, or even appeared so to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

James was so fully satisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which

* The king of England cannot be considered as blameable for having taken umbrage against France upon that account. The same cardinal gives us to understand, that the political views of the Spanish party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the English catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewise true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this design, but also that he had acquiesced with Elizabeth in quite different purposes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

1603.

he meditated in regard to the roman catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, said he, "and with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards several opportunities of being convinced that I had not imposed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the English catholics. James answered this letter in a more obliging manner than was usual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reasons, he not only entered into the same views in regard to this affair which good policy had suggested to Henry, but it also seemed probable, that to secure the English catholic party, he would chuse rather to have recourse to the Pope and his ministers than to any foreign prince. The Pope, on his side, did not shew himself insensible of this preference *: one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote against that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holiness would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to stay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumstance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

Upon my departure, at the conclusion of this my second audience, I was informed that this prince was to set out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged, that the audience which his majesty promised to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the last I should obtain; and as I was afraid I should not be able to

* We must believe either that his Holiness had no concern in the political design which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal D'Ossat; or that, perceiving it had miscarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were possible, the king of Eng-

land, who had at first shewn himself so favourably disposed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become so himself; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to ascend the throne without opposition.

conclude

conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this request, all his time being absolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would send his ministers on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

1603.


Accordingly, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant general in Ireland, and the secretary Cecil, who was the speaker. After the first compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought he could not better shew his most Christian majesty how sensible he was, both of the uprightness of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Ostend, and the support of the States.

I was immediately sensible of this secretary's artifice, and the design of it, in thus construing what I had said to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my master would have been extremely glad to have had some measures taken in Europe, to prevent the invasions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was so far from having sent me to give law to his Britannic majesty, that he did not himself know what conduct to pursue with regard to the affairs of those provinces, with the true state of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, because, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had said to his Britannic majesty, than that when he should be well disposed towards them, I could engage that the dispositions of his most Christian majesty would not be contrary to his, and, in a word, that I was come about no other design, than to be

1603. informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

Cecil replied, that he had no surreptitious design upon me by what he had said, but only to hear my sentiments of the present situation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterprize seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to shew, that the war would be still less agreeable, than the peace, to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expences were requisite in consequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must alone be engaged in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his consent with joy.

I gave Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her,

her, instead of laying the foundation of an alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself personally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheless, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in case his proposal for an union with France within a year had been sincere on his part, because the king of France would rather chuse to defer the declaration of war against Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the present situation of her affairs, as it was to England. 1603.

Upon this occasion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in terms the most explicit, that I was not come to propose to the English council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England against Spain; but only to represent, that good policy required them not to suffer the United-Provinces to be oppressed for want of succours, which might be given them without disturbing the quiet of the rest of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majesty upon the nature of these succours, and the other steps to be taken, both at present and in future, in favour of the Flemish. Upon this, the king's counsellors thanked me for the sincerity with which I had spoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majesty hereupon, that then he would converse with the deputies of the States about it, and, if I desired it, even in my presence, which I did not think proper to oppose; having said this we separated.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, sent at last to desire the king of England would dispense with it entirely, on account of his indisposition, and that he would only send one of his counsellors to confer with him. James did not appear satisfied with

1603. this procedure; he however granted him what he desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this commission. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himself, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himself wholly to compliment and to the most general terms: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved: indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this awkward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador, who began to be no longer expected, would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival to begin the dissipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counselors appeared disposed to fall into their former irresolution.

1603.
solution. I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted but this ambassador would make proposals to his Brittanick majesty, accompanied by irresistible offers, part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

What was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon: he said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our setting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chace and the weather; the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myself who sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to behold that he was always served on the knee: a furtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

The conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than herself. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand

1603. hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said to me a single word about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprized at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference; though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved every thing that had been done in the last conference between the counsellors and me; that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose he gave orders that his counsellors should, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said, that this happened
contrary

contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done. At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it. 1603.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I should, without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little this day. For notwithstanding what has here been said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired; for the king of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy preface, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England, with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests.

For this purpose Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the lowest ebb of despair, would abandon every thing, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded; because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation.

He

1603. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause of the United Provinces, before their strength and spirits were entirely spent and exhausted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, because I was come to London only, if it were possible, to enter into an association with the English, and in case they refused this, to know their reasons.

After this, we had some discourse about the towns destined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemish deputies, had given him to understand, that England being resolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the cession of those places as a security; and in consequence of this cession, Cecil had only promised him, that these towns should be preserved in a strict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as interesting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reserve which ought to be observed by a man entrusted upon oath with the secrets of his council, that the States had put things in such a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could see itself in possession of those places. But from hence he also inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the consequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reason that he pressed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confessed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the resolution of his masters; but that the king of France, upon this occasion, could only lament their situation, not being in a condition to support them with open force against Spain and England together.

In

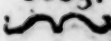
1603.

In the afternoon, all the Flemish deputies came in a body to assist in the conference; and soon after them the English counsellors, appointed by his Britannic majesty, also arrived. Cecil being, as usual, the speaker for all of them, began by saying directly, that the king of England was really in the interest of the States. And turning to me, he asked me, whether this was not what I desired, and the real design of my commission? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt hasty procedure of the secretary; and instead of giving him a direct answer, I addressed myself to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings designing to interest themselves in their affairs, they ought therefore justly to represent the state of them; that from a full and perfect knowledge of their necessity, the succours which they wanted might be ascertained. Barnevelt, as usual, drew a picture of the miseries to which Spain had reduced them; and these he described in as lively and affecting a manner as he possibly could. But to come more immediately to the business, he said, it was necessary that the Spaniards should be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to succeed in this in the space of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, not including the garrisons, and three thousand cavalry, besides fifty ships actually in a condition to serve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was necessary, than for the two kings to double these forces, by furnishing an equal number of each as above-mentioned.

I was apprehensive these propositions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authorise the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he should have

1603. have been more careful only to ask what could be granted. I then asked Cecil, in a manner somewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his master, with regard to what was here proposed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States, that is, he would consent privately to assist the United-Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing farther.

The deputies not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his discourse, said, that indeed the king of England was very willing to assist the States, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said, that in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to have upon the coast of Spain, and in the Indies: and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of these forces, except the money owing from France, which

which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause. 1603. 

I was extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without an equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United-Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his British majesty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss, in regard to the following suppositions; first, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented him, that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bresse, not to mention the squadrons of galleys which he must also have to secure the mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes.

Then

1603. Then replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the king of France the whole or greatest part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by such means the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expences should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than these; such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France; that Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but again, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by shewing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I said made not the impression upon my hearers which I desired; on the contrary, the English took fire, and protested, if any thing farther was insisted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more especially, in this conference, completed his making himself known to me for what he really was; he made use only of double expressions,

vague

vague proposals, and false meanings, being perfectly sensible that reason was not on his side. The moderation and sincerity which I opposed to his ill-designing subtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a single word I made him feel the ridiculousness of what he said, put him into confusion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to shew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far, as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies, that these sums should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, and, upon my refusal, they all said it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was in my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consists in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable thing. What piqued me the most was to see that these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substituted their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

The deputies, who had returned, and were present during this, again retired, greatly dissatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; where-

1603.

upon Cecil again changed his battery : he said, that since the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States ; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct therefore which the two kings could pursue, would be to continue to live in friendship, but without intermeddling with any foreign disputes whatsoever. This, probably, was what the secretary really proposed ; and, notwithstanding the length and frequency of his discourses, was all he had ever uttered with sincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the English, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, said, they would relate to the king every thing which had passed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things should be expeditiously settled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my last, and that wherein I should take my leave, because, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept silence upon this occasion, most certainly it was not because I acquiesced in what they said ; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again exposed themselves, and as it were confessed themselves to be liars and impostors, had inspired me with the utmost contempt for them ; but I judged, that expostulation or passion would be so far from making them quit a resolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture, whereas, as matters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted between the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission, because I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the designs which

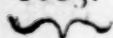
which his counsellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

1603.


To come at a certainty in respect to this, was what I proposed in my third audience, for I do not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords Hume and Seaforth about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

The king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that shewed how greatly he was satisfied with the king of France and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted, that making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his counsellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and me and the Flemish deputies; and I promised, if he would give me leave, to give him a sincere and just relation of every thing.

1603.



The king approving my propofal, I acquainted him with all that had paffed between us the preceding evening; I infifted more efpecially upon the demand to difcharge the debt owing to England, and on the afperſion upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added, that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with elogies on the generofity, the prudence, and the perfect friendſhip of the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, and this becauſe he himſelf had authoriſed me to do it, both by his words and actions, I ſhould be obliged, on a ſudden, to write to him in a quite contrary ſtyle, without having any reaſon to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my maſter could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful miniſter, to the intereſts with which he had entrusted me; and it would beſides be conſidered as the effect of a determined friendſhip with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might enſue between the two kings, whoſe intereſt as well as inclination required their continuing in a conſtant ſtate of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the king of England, that there were ſeveral of thoſe whom he admitted into his council who were neither well diſpoſed in themſelves, nor well affected to his perſon; that, without naming them to him, he ought to conſider as ſuch all thoſe who appeared ſo little ſollicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to adviſe him, under the name of an ally, to render himſelf the ſlave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in ſome degree, diffident of ſuch perſons whoſe characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wiſdom; than the representations of his miniſters.

It was no difficult matter to inſpire the king of England with a diffidence of his miniſters, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The
change

1603.



change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observation was just; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, this prince was at last in the most favourable disposition I could wish him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our conversation some general hints of a project, by which, with the assistance of his Britannic majesty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be secured. Having said this, I remained silent, as though I had been apprehensive of fatiguing him by too long a discourse: but I knew the curiosity of James would be excited by the little I had said; accordingly he replied, that my discourse had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and asked some of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, said the king "to me, returning, I will break off the party for "the chace which I had made for this day, that I "may hear you to the end, and this employment "will, I am persuaded, be of more service to me "than the other."

The reason that induced me to hazard a step of such consequence, as that of communicating to king James the great designs upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being persuaded this prince was already of himself inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this resolution from some great and noble motive; and because, on the other side, his ministers constantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently because he could not support himself against them, from a persuasion that they opposed his sentiments only through ignorance of them. How-

1603. ever, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very necessary.

I therefore resumed the discourse, and told him, that, without doubt, he had sometimes thought, and with good reason, that a man in possession of the places and honours with which I was known to be invested, never quitted his post but for a very urgent occasion; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been silent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what it was of so interesting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least light into the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy sacrament.

Though I had now nothing to fear from his indiscretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and, beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was most interested, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent soever he might perhaps have supposed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no less certain that I was attached to mine, even so much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king; that I had neglected no-
thing

thing which might incline the king my master to establish it in France upon solid foundations, being under great apprehensions lest it might one day be overwhelmed by so powerful a faction, as that of an union of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, the arch-dukes, the catholic princes of Germany, and so many other states and communities interested in its suppression; that my success hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party opposite to the house of Austria. That because these circumstances might change, or because I, who was the only person that would use any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might lose my place and his favour, I did not see how the king of France could resist a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this consideration had long inspired me with the thoughts of finding a person for the execution of this design, who by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accomplish it, and fix Henry in his sentiments. That having found all that I had sought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himself to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a design to which he would always appear to have put the finishing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his most Christian majesty.

1603.

There remained only to explain to him the nature of this design, of which at first I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an association of all the princes and states in Europe, whose interest it was to diminish the power of the house of Austria, the foundation of which should be an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented

1603. by the closest union of the two royal houses of Bourbon and Stuart. I represented this association in a light which shewed it might be very easily formed. There was not the least difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the protestant princes and states; and it might be rendered sufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes also: for example, the turbulent and ambitious disposition of the duke of Savoy might be soothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promises to distribute among them those parts of it which the house of Austria possessed, as Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, &c. and to re establish their antient privileges: even the Pope himself might be gained, by granting him the property of those countries of which he only possessed the feodality. In regard to the king of France, though I endeavoured to persuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming; I, however, said, that when I should have communicated it to him, I could safely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conquests which might be made, or being recompensed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greatest part of the burthen would fall upon him, as well in the expences necessary for the carrying on the enterprize, as his own personal services. I imagined it was most proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too absolute an obligation.

The king of England immediately started some objections, upon the difficulty of uniting so many different princes, so differently disposed; the same nearly which Henry had made when we had last discoursed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the slight sketch which I had given him of the design, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expressed a desire
of

of being more circumstantially informed of it. In conformity with which desire, the following is the substance of what I said to his Britannic majesty. 1603.

Europe is divided into two factions, which are not so justly distinguished by their different religions, because the catholics and protestants are confounded together in almost all places, as they are by their political interests; the first is composed of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spanish Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic states of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewise must be comprised, the catholics dispersed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jesuits, whose views, no doubt, are to subject every thing to the Spanish monarchy. The second includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United-Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Muscovy, and Transilvania, though these countries are subject to the christian religion, because the wars in which they are almost continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in some manner foreign in regard to those of the western part of Europe.

Were the power to be estimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the slightest glance, not very favourable to the second of these factions, and the superiority would apparently be determined in favour of the first: nevertheless, nothing is more erroneous than such an opinion, which may thus be proved: Spain, which must here be named first of her faction (though from rank and dignity she is only the third) because she is in reality the soul of it: Spain, I say, including her dominions in the East and West Indies,
does

1603. does indeed possess an extent of territory as large as Turkey and Persia together. But if it be true (and that it is so cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ships and inhabitants, this immense extent of territory, instead of being serviceable, is burdensome.

And if we consider the other powers of this party, we shall every where find reason to diminish our ordinary ideas. The Pope seems firmly attached to Spain; and, surrounded as he is on all sides by this formidable power, and having no reason to expect succours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his interest to be so. But as he does, in fact, consider his situation as but little different from real servitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the Jesuits only make a vain appearance of supporting his authority; it may, doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without the running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to increase the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of Austrian power: besides, what is his power? it consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to incursions of the formidable armies of the Grand Signior; liable, on the other side, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the electoral princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the present Emperor, all things justly

justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is, to get their liberty, in religion and election, restored to them. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the more sincerely attached to the Emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, because it is evident his religion must, sooner or later, set him at variance with his benefactor. But supposing the Emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, so long as he shall be under apprehensions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almost all the powers on which Spain seems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little service. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themselves from the dominion of the Emperor, and even to aggrandise themselves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the ecclesiastical princes, than on the others. A foreign Emperor is what they most wish, provided he is not a protestant. Nothing could give the arch-dukes a greater pleasure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they should, in Flanders, become sovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her servants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing so much less for the daughter

1603. daughter which he bestowed upon him, than for her younger sister. As to Italy, it need only be observed, that it will be obliged to acquiesce in the will of the stronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the second of the factions here described has nothing to fear, provided it understands its own interests well enough to continue in a constant state of union. Now it is also certain, that in this scheme these so natural motives to disunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that caused by the difference of religion, which in some sort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred against Spain, which is the great and common motive by which these powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the least jealous of his glory, who would refuse to enter into an association strengthened by four such powerful kings as those of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, closely united? It was a saying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could resist these four powers, in strict alliance with each other.

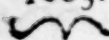
These truths being supposed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the house of Austria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to possess that dominion only. These methods consist either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of these. The first of the secret means is, to divest the house of Austria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourse with these countries to the rest of the Europeans, than she has to destroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having also a liberty to make establishments in the new discovered countries as soon as they have passed the line, this enterprize would therefore be easily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thousand men, all provided and victualled for six months; England to furnish the ships, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the most powerful, the money and soldiers. There would be no occasion

occasion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries should be equally divided. 1603.

During this, the second of these means should be secretly prepared, upon occasion of the succession to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far distant, in such manner, that under favour of the opportunities which these two incidents might furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the antient free manner of election.

The first of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this state into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the first side of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea: the second is bounded by France, *viz.* by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Messin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Dusseldorp. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the first, France the second, the electors and the other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately submit.

The second of the two last means, is for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretences to any share of the conquest, and relinquish

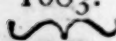
1603.  linquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Compté, Alsace, and Tiroll, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the Pope, as being most convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Istria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the most solid foundation of this confederacy would arise from all the parties being gainers by it. The rest of Italy, subject to its petty princes, might perhaps be suffered to continue under its present form of government, provided that all these little states were altogether considered as composing only one body or republic, of which they should be so many members.

This is a pretty just account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majesty with the design to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confessed that I was not myself able to elucidate the design; that I was not surpris'd that his majesty had at first perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it also, but that they only proceeded from my own weakness, and the impossibility of shewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long discourses; that I was convinced in my own mind, the design was not only possible, but that also the success of it was infallible; that if any thing was found defective in the scheme as I had conceived it, it might easily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and some of the best generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be intrusted.

I then returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majesty, that this alliance being the chief
and

and necessary foundation of the confederacy which I had proposed to him, this must therefore necessarily begin it, without paying any regard to the discourses of prejudiced persons, or being affected by such frivolous considerations as those of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I assured him, that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amassing such vast sums, were only designed hereafter to enable him of himself to accomplish the greatest part of this important design; at least, that I could flatter myself with success in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public service, which operated so powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his most sensible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his desire of being brought into comparison with Henry, and of sharing his praises.

My earnestness to succeed gave such force and clearness to my expressions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of transport proceeding from his friendship for me, and a sense of the wrong measures which hitherto endeavours had been used to make him pursue. "No, sir, said he, do not fear that I shall ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He protested with the same ardour, that he would not on any consideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had said would yet farther confirm him in the sentiments with which I had inspired him; that he would even now engage to sign the plan of alliance which I had presented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himself made some inconsiderable alterations; that I should also sign it in the name of the king

1603.  king of France, unless I rather chose to carry it with me unsigned, to shew it to his most Christian majesty, in which case he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or sending it back at the end of a month or six weeks, approved and signed by Henry, he would immediately, and without the least difficulty, join to it his own signature. He concluded, by obligingly assuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promise the same secretly in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had been so free as to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occasion he revealed to me, and which I therefore suppress.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil, said this prince to him, I command you, without any reply or objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare the necessary writings, according to which, *I will then give the dexter* *, and all assurances to the ambassadors of messieurs the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. ambassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?"

* This expression signifies an oath, or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his counsellors that were present. Upon my departure, he gave orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to escort me to London. 1603.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XVI.

1603.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a peace, whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occasion, I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which necessity had obliged Henry and I to take in the council of France, not to propose any thing to the king of England, but as of myself.

James, being more intirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the protestant religion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readiness.

But

But how great is the difference between such a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein by virtue of a full power from the king, I might with all the care and exactness possible, have inserted every particular in that clear and distinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their strength and duration. I should not so confidently assert, that, upon this occasion, instead of the mere formula, I had reason to expect his Britannic majesty's signature of a compleat treaty, which it would not be possible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a signed blank, been an authentic testimony, that I have here advanced nothing from suggestions of vanity or self-love.

1603.
~

But I should reproach myself with being guilty of injustice, were I to appear suspicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could shew himself more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be least exposed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and master of its sentiments, is, however, the most changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other instance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almost always fail in the execution, provided they can find the smallest colour or pretence for so atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a solemn promise or engagement were not the same as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as soon as I was gone, the counsellors of his Britannic majesty would use their utmost efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the most active for this purpose, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king,

1603.

on my account, and his confusion from the conversation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

Nevertheless, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negotiation: my own situation in the affair considered*, its conclusion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risque of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when considered in respect of Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more without shewing a disregard to the terms prescribed, not only in my public, but even in my private instructions. However, from what I have done there arose one real and very sensible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic

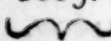
* This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almost all the histories and memoirs at that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoke of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the authors of Villeroi's memoirs of State, and of the history of the duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even the most minute circumstances. Vol. II. p. 577, & seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first volume of Siri, Mem. recond. Besides the detail of the marquis de Rosny's embassy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here, p. 226, & seq. we find quite through this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of king James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.

majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither so soon nor so easily return to the former. 1603.

I therefore immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished I presented to the king of England and his counsellors, to be by them finally revised and examined: they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner.

The king of England, after returning his most Christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France, and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such times as the two kings should judge proper. The United-Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated, that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquility, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

However, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly, when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-general with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression;

1603.  sion; the number of men who were to compose these succours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they should be sent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament should be defrayed by his most Christian majesty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the sum due from France to England. It was likewise agreed, that these proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries should be pursued with as much secrecy as was possible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a supposition that this power considering this action as an absolute infraction, should make reprisals upon the two protecting kings, the following resolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France should furnish him with an army of six thousand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war and in four years, and by equal proportions, discharge the remainder of his debt. England should act precisely in the same manner, in regard to France, in case the storm should fall upon her; the choice of either sea or land should be in the option of the party attacked, nor should England in this case require any part of her debt. Finally should Spain at once declare war against both the allied princes, in order to act offensively, and at the same time promote the security of Flanders, his most Christian majesty should have an army of twenty thousand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Bresse; he should likewise have the same number of forces in Flanders; and should farther divide the Spanish forces, by directing his galleys to cruize in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majesty on his side, besides a land army of at least six thousand men, which he should keep in constant readiness, should send a fleet into the West-Indies, and should order another to cruise upon the coasts of Spain. All payment of debts should

should be suspended, and each should defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation. 1603.

Such was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the king of England, in presence of his counsellors: my dispatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions, it is a stroke of good policy, always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

1603.

Among the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my dispatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied: I questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent his majesty, entreating him to make all possible enquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the post-master of Ecouan.

I had before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traitor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the state, to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover; *Packet to be given into the king's own hands, without being opened.* He repented it no doubt, when he found he

he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover; and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

Henry could have wished that I had practised upon the queen of England and the prince her son, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this princess remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay at London, whilst several other affairs almost as important required my presence at Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs most over the absent; my friends lost yet more than myself from my not being among them. I entrusted Vaucelas * my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majesties which I had brought for her; and I instructed him in what he should do and say, to obtain what the king desired to know concerning this princess.

Whilst I was very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure for some days, and even prevented my writing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was

* Andrew de Cochefilet, Baron de Vaucelas count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counsellor of state and ambassador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's second wife. The

house of Cochefilet is mentioned in Du Chesne, as one of the most antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the house of Baliol in Normandy.

1603. somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me, and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a hunting the same day, “to dissipate the uneasiness, added he, very obligingly, which he should feel for my departure.”

I attended his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Westminster is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France; but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form he would sign it without any farther discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said he considered this prince as his sole model as well as his friend; and protested, that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him, from any of the subjects of the king of France; and required the same deference from the king of France; particularly with regard to any jesuits who might be found in disguise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for
having

1603.

having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said, that he advised him from his heart, never to be guilty of such an error as to recall them; he insisted on this article the most: for indeed he hated the jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased by his considering them as his personal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances, which he required of his most Christian majesty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly touched*.

Being furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as at my arrival. Sidney and the English vice-admiral escorted me to the sea-side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and passage by sea.

But I should before have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his most Christian majesty. That to king James was six fine horses richly caparisoned, to which Henry added also another gift, which ought to be esteemed still more considerable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all respects the best and most complete horseman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and most beautiful Venetian glass, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewise with diamonds, a fencing-master, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word all those whom I have occasionally mentioned, besides

* Matthieu the historian says, the king of England made the marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

some

1603. some others, were presented, some with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; several ladies also received rings and pearl neck-laces. The value of all these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be distributed in certain places, amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions to some English lords, were to retain them, and attach them more strongly to his interests. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to distribute them so as to avoid giving any cause of jealousy between these English lords, and to prevent king James himself from conceiving any jealousy of my intention. The precaution which I used for this purpose was to ask his permission to acknowledge, by some small gratuities, the services I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the ninth of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he passed some days here, during which the queen made a journey to Liffé. I did not take any rest at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readiness to embark the next day. The weather was so bad in the night, that the English vice-admiral very seriously advised me to alter my resolution. The least delay appeared no less insupportable to all my retinue than to myself, especially to those city sparks who find themselves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation; we met with a violent tempest, that we were in the utmost danger; we were the whole day in crossing the channel, and so
extremely

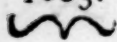
extremely sea-sick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us, we must have surrendered. 1603.

A second letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place, I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in case my health would permit me to make use of them. I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterets.

I would not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his majesty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought there to him: Believre, Villeroi, De Maiffes, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as De Maiffes afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so much wished to see, he is at last arrived; my cousin the count of Soissons must be called, that he may be present at the brief relation he will give us of what he has seen, heard, said, and done, of which he has wrote me nothing: let my horses be sent back, I shall not now go into the forest."

His majesty would not suffer me to kneel to kiss his hand, but embraced me twice very closely. His first words were, that he was perfectly satisfied with my services; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he should take pleasure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be somewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity should present,

to

1603.  to discourse on so many different matters. I began with the person of the king of England, which I described to him nearly the same as I have already in these Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expressed for his majesty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his desire to render himself worthy of the comparison. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inspire him, and how far he was from espousing the party of the revolted French calvinists. King James was sensible from his own situation, how very unfit this last procedure would have been, having so great a number of seditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cause him much trouble. I added, that if I had myself been disposed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very serious enterprises: I mentioned the affair of the lost dispatch, and spoke my sentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majesty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my last audience, and, together with the form of the treaty signed by us both, I presented to him the two letters from his Britannic majesty, and another letter wrote to his majesty, since my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all those letters to him.

Beaumont in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was instantly expected in London, from whence she would go directly to Windsor to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the duke

1603.

duke of Brunswic, was said to be actually at Gravefend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that count d'Arenberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United-Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded the deputies of the Low Countries would never consent to it, though the emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed, that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them, that they should not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permission which James had given them to raise soldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of these recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by saying, that, in order to be still more perfectly informed of every thing that passed,

1603.

passed, and to remind the king of England of his promises if necessary, he was going himself to Windsor. I take no notice of those passages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the highest praises to my conduct and my negotiation.

Villeroi having finished the reading the plan for a treaty, " Well, cousin, said Henry, addressing himself to the count of Soissons, what do you think of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. " Since you require it of me, said he, I must say, that I think the marquis of Rosny has very great credit with the king of England, and that he is in a marvellous good intelligence with the English, at least if his relation, and all which you you have been informed of, is true; for which reason he ought to have brought much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better form than that which he has presented to you, which is really nothing more than a mere project of hopes and fair words, without any certainty that they will ever be executed." " What you have said is truly very fine and good, replied Henry: nothing is so easy as to discover faults in the actions of others." His majesty still continued to speak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my eulogy. He said, I was the only person in France who, with so limited a power, could have performed what I had: that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen and expected the difficulties with which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me Carte-blanche. " Rosny, said he, in his conduct has given me an example, which confirms to me truth of a Latin proverb, though I do not know whether I

" speak

“ speak it right, *Mitte sapientem, & nihil dicas*: 1603.
 “ and I am certain, that, if his presence should
 “ again become necessary on the other side, he
 “ will always be ready to return, and serve me with
 “ the same ability and address which he has here
 “ shewn.” I suppress great part of what, upon
 this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired
 him with for my defence: what gave me the most
 sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as in-
 finitely superior to all the praises he bestowed up-
 on me, was his adding, that he had nothing to
 fear from thus praising me to my face, because he
 knew that those praises, instead of making me
 vain and less diligent, would only increase my desire
 of acting still better. These words silenced the
 count of Soissons.

I then answered several questions which the
 king asked me, touching the nature and power of
 the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the charac-
 ter of the English, and what they thought of their
 new king. After this the conversation turned on
 the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given
 him a circumstantial relation of it, assured me that
 he approved of my conduct therein, considering it
 as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend
 ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endea-
 vour to excuse him, or openly to vindicate him. I
 acquainted his majesty with the character of young
 Servin *, such as I have already given. The king
 having twice asked whether dinner was ready, went
 in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroi
 to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go
 and take my repose till the next day, as being what
 I must very much want, after having rode post, and
 that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered
 my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to serve me
 from his kitchen, 'till my own equipage and attend-

* L'Etoile makes mention of “ plague should find means to
 him “ It is surprising, says he, “ attack so great a plague as he.”
 “ how it could happen, that the

1603. ants were arrived; "And to-morrow morning, said he, we will renew our discourse."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at supper, he sent me two excellent melons and four partridges; at the same time acquainting me, that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his counsellors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny, said he, we will take a walk while the freshness of the morning continues; I have some questions to ask you, and some matters to discuss, on which I have been thinking the whole night. I arose at four o'clock, these things having pressed my thoughts so strongly, that I have not been able to sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner, during the three following days which his majesty passed at Villiers-Coterets. In these conversations I gave him an exact and particular account of all the most secret and important matters, with which he still remained to be acquainted with.

I received several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a supplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from those of the royal

royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else: she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

During all this the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it: I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's distaste of business, and his passion for the chase, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural indisposition, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct, as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

1603.

No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (for he did at last arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrusts, and suspicions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors, by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Spaniard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English catholics * against James's person. Beaumont constantly treated this insinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true state of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakness and the meanness of its sentiments, discover an unanswerable argument to disprove it.

But a more certain and undoubted conspiracy was that of some English lords, who formed the design of stabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the design was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the instigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and several others of the principal servants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, though they had appeared among the most forward

* It produced a proclamation, *Jesuits out of his dominions. Mem. whereby king James banished the d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 217.*

to do homage to her successor. Nevertheless Cecil 1603.
was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the subject of much discourse. A religious dispute, which arose in the conference between the protestants and puritans, increased the disorder. The conversation of the court turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The earl of Northumberland struck colonel Vere in the face, in presence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was justly incensed at so disrespectful and outrageous an insult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's presence, and used several other atrocious expressions; but they were reconciled to the king by asking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preserves the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

When from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all these public and private differences, I found the affair was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic majesty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleasure ratified the plan concerted between his majesty and me, and that he had sent the count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the king my master,

1603. master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I wrote at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

Beaumont having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed, and accomplished, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgments to his Britannic majesty in a second letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents, we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of king James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured wherever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

Thus

1603.

Thus was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice, from the accession of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making those great armaments which she did this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish galleys, manned with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch vessels; which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours; she made herself mistress of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the port of Lisbon, for the embarkation of twenty thousand soldiers. This work was pursued with such indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

Every one talked his own way about the occasion of such formidable preparations: some said, that they were designed against Flanders, particularly Ostend; others, that they were destined for the conquest of Barbary, because the king of Cusco having promised the council of Madrid to assist that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a supply of men and money, which that prince kept to himself, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many persons were persuaded that Spain had a design upon France itself: the first notice his majesty received of it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it; but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he

1603.

knew likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking this prince too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the same time; and his majesty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monsieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lefdiguieres, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and long war which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from France into Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault * caused four thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-John de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low-Countries, notwithstanding this order.

The long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out. He had sailed for the coast of Villa-Francha, as if with a design to take the three sons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to

* Emerick Gobier de Barrault,

1603.

Spain; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the state †, the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably because he flattered himself, that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design, but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him those honours, nor esteeming him so highly as he thought he deserved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he should act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for staying longer at Nice, where, said these conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had discovered the reason of his departure, to be an order which they supposed he had received from Spain to go and join his squadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards; or possibly the council of Madrid had nothing else in view, but to accustom her neighbours to preparation and motions, for which they could not guess the cause. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of some time longer at Nice, they passed on the twentieth of June within view of Marseilles, without saluting the castle of If; their convoy consisted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, some other Spanish troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majesty was the more attentive to their motions, because he was informed that Hébert, who had left

† The second of these princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbishop of Toledo and cardinal,

1603. France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes : the secret was discovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treasurer of France in Languedoc. These troops, as I was informed by his majesty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and passed the bridge of Gresin on the first of July ; they consisted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a small body of troops, with a view no doubt to hasten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the same month. The remainder of the Spanish troops that were drawn from Italy, consisted of four thousand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint-George, who took the same rout.

Notwithstanding these supplies, by which the archdukes received a great accession of strength, yet Henry was still of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterprize upon Ostend this year ; they themselves seemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being considerably diminished. The thousand horse that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by desertion to less than five hundred, and those that remained were so great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be soon obliged to disband them. Such was the situation of the United-Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewise another advantage over their enemies ; a small number of Dutch vessels who were going to load spices, meeting with fourteen Portuguese galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chace, took five, in which they found great riches, and dispersed the rest.

Europe, during the course of this year, had not more tranquillity in the east, than the west. Mahomet the third, to secure himself as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the recesses of the seraglio, he did
not

not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abused his authority : and was first informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that shewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the sultana-mother, and the banishment of this sultana herself, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own son, and the sultana his wife to death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

1603.

But it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and came to Paris, to attend my usual employments : these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in office, bring in exact accounts ; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne ; to make a provision of sums necessary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those that resided in foreign courts for this purpose ; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and oeconomy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his majesty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the state, at the head of which his majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged : the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more necessary the king thought it to sooth and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian residents at Paris ; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the suit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly exposed to view, and served for a monument

1603. ment to posterity, of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new economy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the king drew from different places, and lessened the presents his majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods to supply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of satisfying them, consented so much the more willingly as it cost him nothing; this was to prevail on his majesty to pass innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, exclusively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promised profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among those who thought they had a right to some favour from the king; interest gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately swarmed with those petty monopolies, which, though singly of little consequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the least obstruction produces mischief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earnest remonstrances to the king on this subject, and therefore made no scruple to expose myself to the anger of the count of Soissons, with whom, as I have already said, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The count of Soissons presented a petition to the king at Fontainebleau, in which he proposed that a grant should be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported; a design that must certainly have been suggested to him by some of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himself; nor did he know all the consequences of it, at least he assured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thousand livres a year; and so well persuaded him of the truth of what he had

had asserted, that his majesty, who thought himself obliged to bestow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewise vanquished by repeated importunities, granted his request, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther solicitations about it, caused an edict to be expediated for the count, which he signed, and the seal was placed to it; but some remains of a scruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully sensible of, made him, in granting this favour, reserve a verbal condition, that it should not exceed fifty thousand livres, press too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

That evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have some suspicion that he was imposed upon: he wrote to me instantly, and proposed the thing to me as an indifferent question, without telling me what had passed, or naming any person. I knew not what to think of such a demand, but set myself to work, and, taking to my assistance the accounts of the customs and domain, and entries of provisions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be less than three hundred thousand crowns; and I could not but think it still of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it seemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majesty. The king confessed to me all that had happened, with many marks of astonishment that his confidence had been thus abused. The true remedy had been to have caused the edict to be brought back, and have entirely suppressed it, as being obtained by a false pretence: but, that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soissons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majesty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourse to another method, which was to hinder the parliament

1603. ment from registering the edict. All that was necessary for this purpose, was to send no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine : this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the sovereign courts ; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not register any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majesty so, that this expedient would not preserve me from the resentment of the count, and of the marchioness of Verneuil, who I discovered was concerned in this business ; but I resolved to hold firm against the count, provided his majesty would be proof likewise to the solicitations of his mistress, which he promised me, and added, that he would openly support me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soissons came to my house, and paid me many compliments, having, as he said, occasion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length ; he thought by shewing me great kindness, and condescending to be familiar with me, he should easily obtain my signature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpose he demanded it. I answered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never signed any thing without knowing what it was : the count then found that he must have recourse to other means ; he acquainted me with what his majesty had lately done for him, and said, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the sovereign courts, and me, the signature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I assumed an air still more serious, and pretended to be greatly surpris'd that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom resolutions of such consequence were always made known ; and from thence took occasion to tell the count,

count, that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that therefore he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design, and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his shut teeth concerning our former quarrels, and he went to discharge his choler at the house of the marchioness de Verneuil.

1603.

This lady, although as much enraged with me as the count of Soissons, was yet come to make me a visit, just as I was leaving my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon the king, in favour of the people who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty business," madam," answered I in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was; "you are not the last among those that are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you intend to do with this?" said she. "I intend, answered I, to make some remonstrances to the king upon it." "Truly," replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen, "he will have little to do to take your advice, and offend so
" many

1603. “ many great people. And on whom, pray, would
 “ you have the king confer favours, if not on
 “ those who are mentioned in this writing, his
 “ cousins, friends, and mistress?” “ What you
 “ say, Madam, replied I, would be reasonable
 “ enough, if his majesty took the money all out
 “ of his own purse; but to make a new levy upon
 “ the merchants, artists, labourers, and country-
 “ men, it will never do; it is by them that the
 “ king and all of us are supported, and ’tis enough
 “ that they provide for a master, without having
 “ so many cousins, friends, and mistresses to
 “ maintain.”

Madam de Verneuil lost none of my words, she dwelt particularly upon the last; and, in the rage with which she was transported, made use of them to form a thousand wicked slanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soissons, and told him, that I had said the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his services, he told him, that I had so outrageously injured his honour, that he must absolutely have my life, unless his majesty would himself do him justice. Henry, seeing him in such violent emotion, asked him with great composure, what I had done or said, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another person. The count not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty’s presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he had said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie. “ If that was the case, cousin,” said the king, in a voice such as must naturally put him into confusion, “ you would not be like one
 “ in

“ in your family ; for we always produce your elder brother, in particular, as remarkable for this :
 “ but since it was a report made to you, tell me
 “ who made it, and what he said, and then I shall
 “ know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to
 “ satisfy you, if you are to be satisfied with reason.”

The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. “ So then, cousin, answered the king, you excuse yourself from answering my question, on account of an oath you have taken to the contrary ; and I likewise will take an oath to believe no more of your complaint, than what monsieur de Rosny himself shall acknowledge to me, for I have as good an opinion of his veracity, as you can possibly have of those who tell you these fine tales.”

The count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it ; which he did by Zamet and La Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoke to him, or any of his people ; that the marchioness de Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she or I had mentioned the count, “ Oh !” said the king, when these words were repeated to him, “ we need not doubt any longer from whence this mischief proceeds, since Madam de Verneuil is named, for she is so full of malice, and has such a ready invention, that to the least word of monsieur de Rosny's she would add a hundred, nay a thousand ; but for all that, this affair must not be neglected.” The rage in which his majesty had seen the count, gave him reason to apprehend that he would take some

1603. violent resolution against me; he therefore sent La Varenne to tell me, that I should never stir out of my house without being well attended, and that he desired I would spare nothing for my security; adding, with great goodness, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myself, would be far below what it would cost him if he should lose me *.

I cannot quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more antient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign vessels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our vessels in foreign ports; nevertheless it was with regret, and only by his majesty's express orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of those exactions which was most likely to depress the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great opposition to the registering them, and the marechal d'Ornano bestirred himself greatly, having money owing him from the state, which had been charged upon that part for his reimbursement. The establishment of commissioner-examiners, *lieutenant particuliers*, *assesseurs-criminels*, and other officers of justice, met with no less difficulty from the same court of Rouen, which more than any other opposed these new edicts; the last

* L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soissons to be contented with a letter of satisfaction which M. de Rosny wrote to him: and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soissons and the marquis de Rosny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, *ibid.* 592. De Thou also speaks of it, b. cxxix. The steadiness of M. de Rosny has procured him great commendations from our historians. "He had no consider-

"ation for any thing, says father
"Chalons, but the king's service;
"nor could any respect for per-
"sons of the greatest quality,
"princes, or even the queen her-
"self, prevail on him to make
"the least concession, where he
"thought the king's interest or
"glory came in question: this
"got him many enemies, and
"was the cause that, after the
"king's death, the queen took
"the management of affairs out
"his hands," *Hist. de Fr. vol. III.*
p. 255.

were

were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in consequence of these new regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs, that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouse this year, which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debate ran contrary to him.

The quarrel between the count of Soissons and me made a great noise; but the king, to shew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court. The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest: but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident; the rivers were so much swelled by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed *, the fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of the servants; the ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the passage more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road

* I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king," adds he, laughing told M. de

"Rosny, that heaven and earth were combined against him, and that he ought boldly to take care of himself."

1603. and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed.

The waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

His majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accused of carrying on correspondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whose kinsman he was; and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caën the king passed through Rouen*, where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princess Catherine had proposed for the duke of Rhoan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by monsieur and madam de Fervaques, for monsieur de Laval the son of that lady. His majesty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

The affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewise a share† in it. He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful,

* "The king was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness, as to void blood, which the physicians said came from his having eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters." L'Etoile an. 1603.

† It is in vain to endeavour at any justification of the duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the count d'Auvergne, b. v.

and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He published a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a most outrageous manner, against the whole body of the protestants: he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, and seconded it on his side by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneasiness and apprehension of the miseries which hung over the protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed persons that Bouillon always imposed; and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which Duplessis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

Of all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to the rekindling a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the protestants to insert amongst their articles of confession, that the Pope is the antichrist: surely it could not be called a spirit of religion, but rather of discord and intrigue, that presided at the decision of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewise proposed to send printed to all the universities of Europe. As soon as the king was informed of this scandalous proceeding, he sent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had resided since his return

1603. from Normandy, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the protestants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith * from being received. Villeroi likewise, by his commands, pressed me to exert myself on this occasion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain † and Desbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made use of to shew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they saw was resolved not to spare them, I know not, but the article in question was at length suppressed. The Pope, I believe, was under great apprehensions about it; for he was so extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majesty could appease him: and probably it was to this incident that the jesuits owed their re-establishment in France. The holy father had the consolation to see his dominions filled with an accession of monks of every kind, Augustins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongst the other sex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and carmelites: so many religious orders were never instituted at one time as in this year.

The boldness of the protestants, on this occasion, will not appear so surprising, if it be considered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Lefdiguieres, and

* See the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find steps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this absurd tenet.

† Deputies from the calvinist party to reside at court, according to the custom of that time,

Du-Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I must honestly own I lost my labour.

While these complaints of the protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpensier, cardinal Joyeuse, and the duke of Epemon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only with a bow. "We were talking, said the king, of the government of Poitou, and they have advised me to give it to you; could you have imagined this? they being such good catholics, and you such an obstinate huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all his estates were situated in the provinces he was at present governor of, he released Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to resign this government to the king, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

Henry likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than

1603. any other person, or those even that were so near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his majesty had of my fidelity and ardour for his service. The king replied, that his true reason for giving it me, was, because I was an huguenot, but a reasonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the protestants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly satisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no less so, since I was capable of inspiring them with more dutiful sentiments, of giving them just notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodness, and to respect and love his person; and that, by suffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to pass through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon still preserved amongst them might be destroyed. His majesty added (without doubt because these three gentlemen, who were also joined by Brissac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were present) that although he felt so strong an affection for his religion, as to wish with the utmost ardour to see it embraced by all the huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made use of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban especially to free him from the oppression of Spain, to assist him in supporting his just claims, and to save even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however discontented he might be with those cities for discovering less duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheless he thought himself obliged in honour, to continue the same gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated several instances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon," said he, was there to excite them to sedition;"

and

and could not hinder himself from saying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the protestants. 1603.

After this, his majesty told me, that I might treat directly with messieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the state, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and praise of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words, or by low bows. I dispatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he transacted the business with such prudence, that, by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, Dufresne sent me, on the sixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres; namely, twelve thousand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendent of the fortifications, and of the works.

I must not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially silk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but

1603. but also to carry on a considerable trade with foreigners for this merchandise. For this purpose, all that is necessary, said they, is to give encouragement to silk-weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I remember that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion, "I know not, what whim this is that you have taken in your head, to oppose a scheme so well calculated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to root out idleness from among the people, and which I should find so much satisfaction in completing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed to himself in the execution of those great designs, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me, if I presumed to tell him, that I could not, as he did, see either glory or utility resulting from this establishment. I then asked him, if he would permit me to give him my reasons for thinking so differently from him. "I give you leave, said he, but upon condition that you afterwards hear mine,

“ mine, which I am persuaded, are more convincing than yours.” I then made the following observations to his majesty. 1603.

That it was through a wise dispensation of providence, which designed that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be obliged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other, this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France had the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, so universally abounded with whatever supplied the necessities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life, for the rest of the world; her corn, grain, and pulse, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, salt, wool, oil, dying drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the score of any of these advantages, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is certain that her climate refuses silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection; during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties, which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the success of which they do
not

1603. not render doubtful but impossible, a real loss to us ?
 ~~~~~ That is the question.

A country life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work ; therefore it is necessary to begin, by curing people of this lazy disposition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment ? first, they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed : it has been a common observation, at all times and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous workmen : if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and force of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

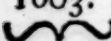
At the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagancy,

gancy, which is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women. 1603.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandises, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of clothes and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII \*. That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort of stuffs, rather than another, is the mere

\* Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the history of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times. — "The next day," says the writer of these Memoirs, "they went on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; for Henriot having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raised him up; and having turned him round, the better to survey his old-fashioned dress, being a short holiday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket and the rest of his cloaths ornamented with silks of different kinds, in the manner they were formerly wore by merchants, he said to him, Honest friend, what reason can you and your company have to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not this damask, this taffety? &c. And after turning them into ridicule sent them away without giving them any other satisfaction; which made them say, as they were returning, The servant is ruder and haughtier than his master." Vol. II. p. 278.

vice

1603.  vice of fancy ; and the price that is set upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to consider, though but with the slightest attention, the source of what is called the fashion, we should find to our shame and confusion, that a small number of persons, and those the most despicable of a great city, which incloses all sorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we should feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compassion we have for fools, that these very men dispose nevertheless of our purses, and keep us enslaved to their caprices.

But silk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power ; there is as much to be done with respect to diamonds, jewels, statues, and pictures, if it be considered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and silver : we must likewise take into consideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which these metals are made use of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the sums squandered foolishly in gardens, buildings, costly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not ; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages set up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation ? we cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the least necessity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endless digression : these two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parsimony, seem only to have been brought into the world, to destroy both the one and the other. These are the only people that know what it is to be rich ; and how they come by this wealth, may be seen by the manner in which they spend it : the old chancellors, first presidents, counsellors of state, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to  
come

come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles \*.

I said every thing I could think of on this subject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments are very strong, said he to me; and I would rather chuse to fight the king of Spain in three pitched battles, than engage all these people of the law, the offices, and the city especially, their wives and daughters, whom you have brought upon my back, with all your whimsical regulations." "Then it is your pleasure,

\* Though silk and other materials of luxury, are in strictness no otherwise good or bad, than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments: but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently; they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundancy of money, otherwise an useless

drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniencies arise from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, subordination, or a military spirit.

As to what relates to silk, should we even suppose with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silks at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufactures of stuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to speak in praise of him. See on this article, *l'Essay politique sur le commerce*, chap. 9. p. 105, second. edit. 1736.

"Sire,



1603. "Sire, replied I, that I should speak to you no more upon this subject: however, time and experience will convince you, that France is not fitted for these gewgaws." I was obliged to content myself with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king, to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole enclosure, for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I represented to him, that he would one day destroy what it would cost him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a design, far more noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building of a very different kind \*. "As things shall fall out," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his house, was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns, a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot: I could not, though I risked the danger of losing his affection, be silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand livres to madam de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchase, at this price, that domestic quiet which was so often interrupted by his wife and his mistress; but fortunately for him, he escaped any broils this year. It

\* The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent square, of seventy two fathom on every side, which was to be called the *square of France*; eight streets were to have opened into it, of eight toises in breadth, bearing the names of so many provinces. The design for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a stop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal square*.

was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a mistake; which the king did me the honour to inform me of. 1603.

The colony that was sent to Canada this year, was among the number of those things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the sieur Du-Mont \*.

\* See in the *Septenary*, the description of a voyage made to Canada by the sieur Du-Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to *L'Essai politique sur le commerce*.

Liberty and protection, these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state, may, in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these *Memoirs* remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons, but to whole companies acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget observing here, that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies was established in France, under the Reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerrard-le-Roy. The edict of its establishment, which bears date the 1st of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and sixth articles are something remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have so often since occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time: it was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more solid and durable basis. The history of this company, the many advantages whereof are at present more known than ever, would carry me too far; and moreover is to be found already in many good books.

---

---

# MEMOIRS

OF

## SULLY.

BOOK XVII.

1604.

**I** BEGAN this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their majesties with two purses of silver medals. When I went to pay them the accustomed compliments on the first day of the new year, I came into their chamber so early in the morning that I found them still in bed. Besides the purse of silver, I had caused two purses of gold medals to be struck, which they received with great pleasure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La-Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the conversation turned entirely upon these medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in ancient history concerning Darius \* and Zopyrus. The king was the more pleased with the design, because he found it affect the malecontents of France in such a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majesty the next day made me a present of his

\* As an explanation of these medals would be of little consequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any other years.

Those who interest themselves in subjects of this nature, may see the series of these medals, vol. II. p. 6. of the Old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

picture,

picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value. 1604.

The death of the duchess of Bar, his majesty's only \* sister, was the first interesting event to the court this year: Henry appeared greatly afflicted at

\* The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned, was entirely groundless: her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with child, tho' she was not. Andrew Du-Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect, as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life, at the expence of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du-Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus*:

*Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjugum major:*

*Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem.*

Her corpse was carried to Vendome, and deposited by her mother's, queen Jane of Albret. The Pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the duchess died before it arrived in Lorraine.

Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the Pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on the death of his sister, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not, added he, the least doubt of my sister's being saved." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. anno 1604.

What Amelot de la Houffay advances in his notes on cardinal D'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for this notion, that the design of the journey the duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the Pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on. The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons,



1604. it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen and officers of his bed-chamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household; the same regulation was observed in the queen's family.

The duchess of Bar, before she left France, had contracted some debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princess had been prevented only by death from discharging them, since she had sent jewels from Lorraine to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a seizure of her houses, furniture, and other effects. Her houses were, a palace at Paris, a house at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and closets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wished to have for that purpose; but they had made the duchess's debts so considerable, that he did not think it fit to desire them till they were all cleared. These debts amounted to twenty thousand livres.

I was afterwards commissioned by his majesty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princess: that which rendered this employment very difficult to execute, besides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the specifying of those that the king of France and the duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princess had pawned in Paris, Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princess was

formerly called, The queen's palace, because it had belonged to queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her granddaughter, Christina of Lorraine; but by reason of queen Catherine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the duchess of Bar. It

was sold again in 1604, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of prince Eugene.

1604.

possessed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorraine, and of what her movables in France consisted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was registered with great exactness, in the presence of two or three members of the council, named by his majesty, and the duke of Lorraine's commissioners; and this done, each of the two princes took possession of those effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The duchess's palace at Paris was, by the king, destined to be sold, because part of the money for which it was first purchased was not yet paid; and the sum produced by this sale was sufficient to satisfy the first owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the house of Fontainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint-Germain to the marchioness of Verneuil. But as this sale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding sureties, it was, by their consent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels should be deposited in my hands, without any other security than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was discharged by a writing, dated 28 June, 1605, and signed by Des-Marquets and Bontemps. I shall now proceed to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which I have promised to give some account of.

Notwithstanding the arret that seemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever settling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their interests, and to make, even in his majesty's council, such a great number of protectors, whose voices, joined to the earnest and almost continual solicitations of the Pope, the house of Lorraine, and many other persons both within and without the kingdom, so greatly strengthened their party, that it was not possible for Henry to resist any longer; and indeed it must be confessed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jesuits who had gained access to his person on account of what had passed

1604.

the preceding year during his journey to Metz, behaved with so much address, and made such advantage of that permission, that Henry began to see them with pleasure\*, and even to admit them familiarly to his presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who we may be assured had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, were the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet shew himself; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not yet wanted.

When the Jesuits were thus secure of great part of the court, and flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they presented a petition in form to his majesty; who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the chancellor, messieurs de Chateau-neuf, Pontcarré, Villeroi, Maïsses, the president De Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, De-Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La-Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the Jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what passed †.

\* The favourable reception the Jesuits met with at court and in Paris, was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who the most effectually assisted the Pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the Jesuits. This

Jesuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promise to recall that order at a proper time, said to him, "Sire, your time is now come; it is nine months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at the end of nine months." "True, father Mayo," answered that prince, but don't you know kings go longer than women do." Chronol. Septen. anno 1603.

† The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's reso-

His

His majesty would have been very well satisfied 1604. to have had me of this council, and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bed-chamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majesty so much surprize that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises which envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that he laid the prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only answerable for all the inconveniencies which they foresaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the Jesuits request, for every one knew it was a nice affair. I guessed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

lution touching the recal of the Jesuits, sent the first president de Harlay as their deputy to his majesty, to present their remonstrance against it. The president spoke to the king with great vehemence; the substance of his speech may be seen in De Thou, who after having related, as an eye witness, what passed on this occasion between the king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, The king's answer to the remonstrance of the parliament; and which is a continued series of reproaches from that prince to the first president, and of praises of the Jesuits: whereas the only answer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testify in favour of M. De Thou; but, on the other

side, this answer of Henry IV. whether true or fictitious, is set forth in the 4th volume of Villerai's State Memoirs, p. 400. and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV. himself furnished with memoirs of his history, vol II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, father Daniel has cited it in his History of France, in folio, vol. III. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV. at least in substance; and M. De Thou agrees, that after the king's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid registering it, his majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maisse, one of his secretaries of state, to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.



1604.

The council being assembled, and myself present, as one of the members, the question was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said, that these gentlemen, as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state and the king's inclinations than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him: instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him, that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject that my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it was with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many that were present expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it beforehand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and added in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And in reality I was resolved to have a conference with his majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then," said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my last words, "that we must wait for your opinion till you have taken a journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the protestants had their assemblies. "Monsieur, replied I, your enigma is not very obscure; however, I assure you, that as in religious matters, not men, but the words of God, are

“ are my oracles, so in affairs of state I am guided  
“ only by the voice and the will of the king; which  
“ I intend to be particularly informed of, before  
“ any thing be determined upon a business of this  
“ importance.” Then addressing myself to the  
whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice  
somewhat raised, that great inconveniences must  
infallibly be the consequences of a precipitate reso-  
lution in this case.

1604.

After this discourse, which might be taken for  
that act of deliberation I had just before declined, the  
constable taking advantage of the hint I had fur-  
nished him with, and pleased likewise with having  
an opportunity to do me some service, for, ever  
since that he had received from me in the affair of  
marechal Biron, his former prejudice against me  
was changed into a sincere affection, said, that he  
was entirely of my opinion, as to the necessity there  
was of knowing the particular inclinations of his  
majesty, before any thing was resolved on; and  
added, that it would not even be improper to desire  
him to be present at their debates, if it was only to  
put a stop to those little heats and animosities, that  
had already begun to appear in our first sitting.  
Villeroi, shewing an impatience to proceed, which  
surprised every one that knew his disposition, said,  
that since this affair could no otherways be termi-  
nated than by the re-establishment of the jesuits, it  
was needless to protract it any longer; and, after  
giving all the weight he could to his holiness's in-  
terposition, and answering for the faithful per-  
formance of the promises made by the society, he  
explained the motives of the king's conduct in this  
affair, who had not, he said, referred it to a coun-  
cil, the members of which were all appointed by  
himself, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking  
upon himself the annulling, by his authority, so  
solemn an arret of parliament as that against the  
jesuits; and concluded, by complaisantly saying,  
that it was fit his majesty should be spared the dis-  
agreeable

1604. agreeable necessity of deciding solely this question, Villeroi certainly highly honoured us all by this speech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroi had done ours; he shook his head, and said, that, if his majesty's design had been such as Villeroi represented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the decision of the parliament, as likewise the examination of the jesuits proposals; and hence taking occasion to give his own sentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwise, and the danger that would result from it both to the state and his own person, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not speaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroi was followed. The rest of the counsellors declared, by a single word, that they thought it necessary his majesty should be applied to, before they proceeded any farther; and this was the end of our first sitting.

The next day I had a private conference with his majesty; and the first thing I brought upon the carpet being the debates on the preceding evening, I perceived the king expected I should tell him my sentiments of them. I did not hesitate a moment as to the part I should take; and truth obliges me to confess, it was not very favourable for the jesuits\*. I told his majesty, that I could not possibly comprehend how, after an arret of parliament published by his order, and for a cause as necessary as just, he should suffer himself to be still prejudiced in favour of an order, from which both himself and the state had nothing but mischief to expect. Here I could not help bringing the king of England to his remembrance; and, having no intention to protract

\* It is said in the manuscript of Sully, de Bouillon, de Maupeou, the king's library, which we have &c. did all they were able to divert quoted before, that messieurs de the king from this resolution.

my discourse to any length, I contented myself with barely entreating him to dispense with my assisting at such hateful deliberations; or if not, to let me know his will precisely, and command me so absolutely to regulate my vote according to it, that I might find my excuse in the necessity of obeying him. "Well, said Henry, since we are alone, and you have leisure to discourse on this matter, tell me freely what it is you fear from the establishment of this society, and afterwards I will tell you what I hope from it, to the end that we may judge whose arguments have the most weight." I would still have excused myself from this task, saying, that it was absolutely needless, since his majesty had already taken his resolution. But he replied, that that should not hinder him from paying some regard to my reasons; and commanded me to positively to enter into this discussion, that I could no longer refuse to satisfy him.

The public has no advantage to hope from the restoration of the jesuits in France, which it may not promise itself from any other religious order; and for the exclusion of the jesuits there are particular reasons, arising from the inconveniencies which follow from their establishment in this kingdom. The reasons and inconveniencies are reducible to four heads, which are immediately seen to be of the last importance; religion, the conduct of government with respect to foreign nations, the interior government of the kingdom, and lastly the person of the king. Let us now speak of the first: the only sure foundation upon which the system of government, which the council will henceforth follow, can be supported, is union and peace between the two religions prevailing in France: the jesuits must be supposed, by those who favour them, to promote this peace and union; but in truth, this can be less expected from them than from any other men. Their first statute places them in such a blind sub-  
jection



1604.

jection to their general, or rather to the Pope, that, though as particular men they might have the most pure and pacific intention, they can move only by the will of these two superiors, of whom the Pope has a great deal of mischief in his power; and their general is always either a Spaniard born, or a dependent upon Spain. Now it cannot be imagined, that the Pope, and the general of the jesuits, will ever contentedly see the protestant religion forming a distinct interest in France; it must therefore be, that the jesuits, filled with the notions of Rome, men likewise of dexterity and intelligence, and to complete their character jealous of the honour of their own party, will, by their confessions, their sermons, their books, and their conversation, keep up a perpetual schism among the people; whence will ensue discord and contention between the different members of the body politic, which will soon or late produce such another civil war, as that from which we are got free.

Nor are they less capable of disturbing our concord with foreign nations, which is the second reason for which good policy would oppose their revocation; the Pope either favouring Spain by inclination, or depending against his will upon that crown, particularly since the Spaniards last invading Italy; and the great view of Spain being the destruction of the French monarchy; when we consider that the jesuits are connected with both the Pope and the Spaniards, by principles, custom, and religion, what can be concluded, but that France will have in her bosom a body of men always ready to take part with her enemies? Here religion comes again into the question: the scheme formed by Henry, for the glory and tranquillity of Europe in general, requires, that at some time he should send an army into Italy, capable of setting the Pope free, even without his own consent, from the shackles in which he is kept by the power of Spain; in this design the help of the protestants will

will be necessary, without which nothing can be done against the Spaniards: but the jesuits will never like a scheme of general policy, which will make the protestants important, and establish them in Europe. 1604.

Rather than see the execution of such a design, and become enemies to Spain, as they must then do, they will endeavour to waste the forces of the king upon his subjects, which is the third reason against recalling them: and, what will produce almost as much disorder in the government of the kingdom, their access to the prince, and the influence which they will have over the exercise of his power, will enable them to commence another kind of war against the ministers, and men in office, under the suspicion that they have not the same designs with themselves. I reckon myself among those who will be first sacrificed to these new favourites. And to conclude, has not the king himself had a dreadful instance of their hatred, without giving them new opportunities of daggers and poisons? and does he not know the reasons for which the jesuits would have put another prince upon the throne of France in his place? such a one as they hoped to make more easily concur in their schemes, both general and particular. If he had any doubt of it, I offered to prove it evidently to him, by a paper sent me from Rome against the cardinal d'Osset, of which I shall speak presently; and I then added a few reflections, with which that paper had supplied me.

The king answered me, that he should like to see that paper, and ordered me to shew it him; but he remained invincible in his purpose, notwithstanding all the reasons that I could offer him. He told me, he had only two things to oppose to my discourse, which he found I had formed by long premeditation; the first was, that it was natural for the jesuits to be devoted to Spain, the only power which had courted and caressed them, when they were

1604.

were scorned or hated almost every where : that if they had found the same reception in France, or should now begin to find it, they would soon forget Spain. For the truth of this, he quoted father Mayus, who had declared to him, as he told me, in the name of the whole society, their sincere attachment, and confirmed it with the strongest oaths, submitting that he and his associates should be considered as the most flagrant traitors, if his promises were not fulfilled.

The king added, that these oaths and promises perhaps would not so fully put me to silence, but that I might have something to reply ; but that a sense of his own interest, and care for the preservation of his person \*, determined him, he said, not only to receive the jesuits to mercy, but to treat them well ; for if he once reduced them to despair, and deprived them of all hopes of returning to France, there was nothing which they would not attempt against him. His majesty then dilated at large upon the credit, the artifices, and the expedients of that society, by which he endeavoured to persuade me, as he appeared himself persuaded, that this society, to whatever distance it might be driven by banishment, would have a thousand means of practising on his life, and that he was desirous to set himself free from perpetual disquiets. He concluded with this expression of Cæsar †, That it was better to put one's self at once into the power of those that one suspects, than to be continually using precautions against them.

By these words, and the tone with which they were pronounced, I easily comprehended that his ma-

\* "*Ventre-saint gris !*" said Henry IV. to those who endeavoured to dissuade him from recalling the jesuits, " will you be answerable for " my person ?" which words stopped every one's mouth. See the king's MSS. vol. 9033.

† *Insidias undique imminentes subire*

*semel confessum satius esse, quam cavere semper*, says Suetonius ; which does not absolutely signify, that the most unexpected death is the best, as the text in the old Memoirs expresses it, and which is more consistent with the context.

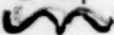
1604.  
 jeſty had already reſolved upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, and that nothing could diſſuade him from it. Therefore, inſtead of oppoſing this reſolution by new objections, many of which, and thoſe very ſolid, I had ſtill to offer; I told him, that ſince he ſeemed to make the ſafety of his perſon, and the happineſs of his life, to depend upon the recalling this ſociety, that was ſufficient to make me labour for the ſucceſs of the affair as zealouſly as La-Varenne himſelf could do; and that, when the council again aſſembled, he ſhould have proofs of it. I ſaw joy ſparkle in the eyes of this prince at my words; and that the ſacrifice I made him might not go unrewarded, and that I might have no cauſe to apprehend the blame of what might happen ſhould fall upon me, he promiſed me two things that inſtant, and gave me his royal word for the faithful performance of them. One was, that neither the jeſuits, nor any other perſon in the world, ſhould prevail upon him to declare war againſt the proteſtants, unleſs I myſelf ſhould adviſe him to it: the other, that nothing ſhould be capable of making him remove from his perſon, a miniſter, with whom, be his religion what it would, he was well ſatisfied; “and eſpecially,” added he, with a moſt obliging familiarity, “a man of whom I can ſay, with the “utmoſt ſincerity, what you the other day told me “Darius ſaid of his Zopyrus\*.” He likewiſe aſſured me, that he would endeavour to make the jeſuits entertain the ſame ſentiments of me that he did; and that I ſhould know, before much time was paſt, in what manner he expected they ſhould behave towards me.

I am not ſure whether he did not exert himſelf on this occaſion that very day; for I had a viſit from La-Varenne the next morning, who deſired as a

\* Zopyrus, a Perſian ſatrape, having cut off his noſe, ears, and lips, in order to execute a ſtratagem, which put Darius in poſſeſ-

ſion of the city of Babylon, that prince uſed to ſay, He would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopyrus. Herodotus, b. v.



1604.  favour, that a jesuit, who he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered La-Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me to treat them with a distinguishing respect; and that, if this were not the case, the character he gave me of this jesuit was sufficient to insure his welcome. This French jesuit was father Cotton †, whom he brought with him the next day as I went into the hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of veneration and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which he said he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, intermingled with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being solicitous to omit nothing the person and present occasion required.

The next day the council, still composed of the same members as before, assembled for the second time; and no affair was ever more quickly dispatched; without entering into any discussion, or making a needless display of arguments in favour of a question already decided, I said in brief, that the present conjuncture of the times required, that the jesuits should have a settlement in France. It was resolved, that they should take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial, who was not French by birth: this they swore to perform, and all the past was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time, I was extremely reserved, and acted

† Peter Cotton, born 1564. at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez.

1604.

with great circumspection, as well with regard to father Molina's opinion of grace, that was published this year, as upon some propositions of three jesuits, which occasioned high debates between those that favoured, and those that opposed them, especially these two; that the Pope's being the successor of Saint Peter was not a point of faith, and that confession might be made by letters. On this occasion, the jesuits were soon sensible how necessary the royal interposition in their favour was to them. Had they been given over to the parliament the Sorbonne, the universities, and the most part of the bishops, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the solicitations of La-Varenne, gave them his castle of La-Fleche, where they soon founded a very fine college.

The restoration of the jesuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, Du-Perron, and above all to D'Offat, who had not neglected their interests at Rome, where he still resided to manage his majesty's affairs at that court. And here it seems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addressed to me from Italy against this ecclesiastic, and which, as has been observed, I had already mentioned to the king.

His majesty was then gone to Chantilly, to spend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableness of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other country amusements, which his physicians seemed to think necessary for his health. Upon some letters I wrote to him, in which I could not dispense with myself from observing that by his absence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithstanding all the entreaties of his physicians to prevent him. The same evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in question, and asked me for it, by which he only

1604. prevented me, it being my intention to shew it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waistcoat, and I left it with him that he might examine it at his leisure. I had made no alterations in it; and added nothing, except perhaps a few reflections which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the person against whom it was wrote his majesty's utmost displeasure.

The author of this memorial, who had his reasons for neither mentioning it in his own name, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, endeavoured to prove, that D'Offat had prevaricated in every point of his commission, and had accepted it with no other design, but to bring matters to that pass, that the king should be obliged to enter into the views of the catholic leaguers of his council, and to pursue a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto conducted himself by. This new plan, which still breathed the spirit of the league that gave it birth, consisted in uniting France in interest and friendship with the Pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, against all the protestant powers of Europe in general, and the protestants of this kingdom in particular; to make Henry concur with the Pope in placing a catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United-Provinces; to use his authority to procure a general submission to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Austrian schemes, and all the maxims of the other side of the Alps. The jesuits were to undertake the task of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the first effects of it the dethroning of king James.

The author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring these heavy accusations against D'Offat like a mere declaimer, justified the truth of them by that cardinal's own letters, as well those I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had collected,

lected, and by his common discourse at Rome, either in public, or to my brother, ambassador to that court, and others in private: he explained the mystery of those almost insurmountable obstacles the holy father made to the king's absolution, and the marriage of the princess his sister: he shewed that they proceeded from D'Ossat himself, who during the whole time that those affairs were depending, abused with impunity the confidence his master reposed in him; and, to prevent the reproaches he had reason to expect from him, gave him to understand, that he was under an absolute necessity of persuading the court of Rome, that his majesty was of the same opinion, and that it was with great difficulty he suppressed those reports which from time to time were spread to the contrary.

It is certain, that throughout this whole affair D'Ossat acted with great art, as likewise in the insinuations he secretly gave the king, that Spain, with respect to him, had only the most pacific intentions, for which the Pope was ready to be security. All this is so clear, and supported by the author with such incontestable proofs, as forces belief, notwithstanding that spirit of hatred and fury, which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes against D'Ossat; he is also reproached in it with assuming the character of a great politician, and a consummate statesman, when he had so much reason to blush for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this ecclesiastic nothing was to be found but the meanness of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman, and owed all the several advantageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practised on Villeroi, and to his slavishly serving the hatred of other catholic leaguers to the protestants. At the conclusion of this memorial, the author earnestly entreats the person into whose hands it should happen to fall, to shew it to his majesty.



1604.

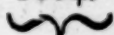
Setting aside all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which shew it came from a declared enemy, it must still be confessed, that D'Ossat could not escape the reproach of having slandered his sovereign, and being ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to posterity the means of convicting him of those two crimes, in the letters which through vanity he caused to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppressed the clergy, destroyed the nobility, ruined the third estate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

Nor is truth less violated in those furious exclamations he makes against the protestants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, detestable, sacrilegious, with which he brands a body that makes profession to agree with him in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and have the same veneration for the divine writings in which they are contained, the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer.

As to his political errors, though in D'Ossat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the less palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the house of Austria were in a manner posted up throughout all Europe, he exposed France to the danger of being the first victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to support her against this proud and insolent monarchy. And what is still more surprising, this destructive policy communicated itself, as if by contagion, to the greatest part of those who were employed in the administration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wisest as well as the smallest party \*.

\* This system of politics has would occasion; on the contrary, not been productive of the mis- the event of it has been as favourable as it possibly could have  
chiefs M. de Sully apprehended it

1604.



It was this policy that in the month of April this year exposed Villeroi to one of the greatest mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he set out to Fontainebleau, where it was his custom to keep his Easter, during which there was a cessation of all business in the council, took leave of his counsellors till the Sunday after Easter; but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had discovered some treasonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpose he would order post-horses to be ready for me at Ablon on Easter-Sunday, that I might set out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did so, and this was the affair in question.

Villeroi had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hote \*, whose family, from father to son, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the person of whom we are now speaking, before he entered into his service, had been secretary to the count de La-

been. It is nevertheless true, and will in some degree be a justification of our author's manner of reasoning on this occasion, that if the execution of these designs, of which the destruction of the protestant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than cardinal de Richelieu, the success of it would not only have been doubtful; but if an attempt of so great consequence as this had by any means miscarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful situation she was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every respect follow the plan attributed to D'Ossat, Villeroi, &c. since during his whole life he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular resources on

which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and in some degree reconcile, both these opposite systems, by entering into the design of weakening the house of Austria, in pursuance of the one; and of destroying Calvinism in France, according to the other of them. I don't know of any one instance that so evidently proves as this does, what a single man is capable of. The protestants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themselves, after having remained undisturbed full thirty years, were, almost at once, brought into an entire subjection: this happened, because on the one side there was a cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

\* Or, as others say, Du-Portail.

1604.

Rocheport, when he was sent ambassador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that sort that strongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his stay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spanish secretaries of state, Don Juan Idiagues, Francheses, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the ambassador his master. When La-Rocheport returned to France, L'Hote finding himself without any employment, solicited Villeroi, whose godson he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entrusted to decypher his dispatches; which was very agreeable to L'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his first trade with security.

Barrault \*, who succeeded the count de La-Rocheport in Spain, perceived, a short time after, that the secrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to discover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular person, he entreated his majesty, in a short letter addressed to himself, to look upon all the clerks in his secretaries offices, especially those belonging to Villeroi, as suspected persons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambassadors to the several courts of Europe, who were extremely astonished, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their dispatches were known at these courts as soon as they received them from France, and very often before.

But neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till Barrault was one day accosted by a Frenchman of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whose name was John de Leyré,

\* Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambassador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was represented, and seeing a Spanish actor throw him down who performed the character of Francis I.

set his foot on his throat, and, in the most outrageous terms, obliged him to ask quarter, he got upon the stage, and in sight of the whole house, ran the actor through the body with his sword. Amelot's notes on D'Ossat.

but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he was in the service of the league, having been one \* of the most active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himself comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his services, which consisted in revealing some advices he still received from his associates in France, were rewarded by a good pension that was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he soon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the discontinuance of his pension, that his credit was sunk all of a sudden; and changing his battery that instant, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himself with his spoils, not doubting but that if he should succeed, this discovery would purchase his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than those he lost in Spain.

Men educated in the arts of faction, and the mystery of intrigue, have talents for these sort of discoveries peculiar to themselves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named Jon Blas, who had settled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hote had abused the confidence of his first master. Rafis, struck with this hint, fixed, as by instinct on this man; having procured from other persons information that he was actually one of Villeroi's secretaries, at that distance his sagacity alone discovered to him what so many others upon the very spot were ignorant of.

His suspicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Berrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, but that care must be

\* L'Etoile says, he had been one of the sixteen.



1604. taken to prevent his having any suspicion that he was discovered, on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent pension. Barrault thought the affair of such importance, that he made no scruple to promise both. Rafis likewise exacted a promise from Barrault, and this with a view to his own safety, that he should proceed slowly and cautiously in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the proposals that had been made to him, he should address himself to none but the king. But Barrault understood this last request as an excess of unnecessary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majesty's chief ministers with the affair: and it was Villeroi himself that he informed of Rafis's offer and proposals. Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, sent the dispatches immediately to the king: but L'hotel being with his master when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpose; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with so much reason been apprehensive he would do; for he wrote instantly to his correspondents in Spain, desiring them to take all the necessary measures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from discovering more. This was the best method he could think of to secure himself, and to prevent any bad consequences; and it would probably have succeeded, had the person concerned been any other than Rafis.

This man, when he received his pardon, which his majesty sent him, together with his answer to his proposals, observed that it was not signed by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had passed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambassador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer necessary

sary to conceal any thing, he told him his reasons for pressing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroi less than any other person: he gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promised him concerning L'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Berault, that to avoid, if it was still possible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmost expedition. And accordingly he mounted his horse that moment; and it was happy for him that he did so, for the next morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrault's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him, to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their rout without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

On the road he met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroi neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined, that it was not possible for L'Hote to escape. He told the two couriers, that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion, that his majesty ought first to be spoke to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound silence.

Surprised

1604. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majesty, which he did the next day.

The king had not yet received these packets on Easter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor by consequence knew of the two couriers arrival, or the name of him that betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi suspected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majesty till the next morning. I found him up and dressed, though it was scarcely sun-rise. Barrault's informations had given him great uneasiness. This prince took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had just received from his ambassador. The dispatches from London that had been lost, coming into his mind, and all that I had said when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealousy and hatred, now appeared to him so well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Descartes and Rafis would arrive so soon, he ordered me to sift this matter to the bottom, and use my utmost endeavours to find out the truth.

His majesty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make discoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets beforementioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery of the garden of Pines \*, and preparing to take leave of him for my return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance ex-

\* The gallery of Ulysses,

pressed all that grief the consciousness of having such news to inform his majesty of must necessarily inspire; and I may venture to say, that for a man who had some cause to wish to humble a rival, or at least to rejoice in his humiliation, I sympathized truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majesty often looked at me, and pressed my hand several times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of L'Hote, "And where is this L'Hote, your clerk?" said his majesty, with some emotion, "have you not caused him to be seized?" "I believe, sire," replied Villeroi, in great consternation, "that he is at my house, but he is not yet arrested." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you believe he is in your house, and yet you have not ordered him to be seized! *Pardieu!* this is great negligence indeed; how could you trifle thus when you knew his treachery? this business must be attended to immediately: go back with all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

Villeroi departed in the utmost grief and confusion; and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris; when the next day I received a letter from his majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be said I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it necessary to \* make public. After having recounted, in a manner advantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couriers, to the time that he went to the

\* See the original of this apology in Villeroi's Memoirs of state, pag. 522. it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this

minister, it being strictly conformable to the accounts given of it by M. De Thou, the Chronol. Septen. Matthieu, and all other historians of credit of that time.

king



1604. king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner.

That at his return to his house, he found the bishop of Chartres and some other persons of distinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their conference being the settling some points relating to the approaching ceremony of the order of the Garter. When Descartes came to his apartment to acquaint him that L'Hote, with Desnots, were just arrived from Paris, his respect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his first entering the house, was saluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preserved presence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry and would go and eat a morsel in the kitchen, only passed thro' it, telling the maitre d'hotel that he would go to a public house and refresh himself, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his master. Villeroi, after his company went away, asked where L'Hote was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body thought he was, he thought he could not do better than send a servant to tell the maitre d'hotel, that he should amuse L'Hote with some discourse, and not lose sight of him: he himself, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to desire that he would lend him Du-Broc, lieutenant du prevôt, who he intended should arrest him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themselves at a window that looked into the court where the whole transaction was to pass. But these precautions were too late, L'Hote had already escaped.

Those who judge favourably enough of Villeroi to take the whole recital upon his word, will at least probably exclaim here against the dilatory manner in which this secretary of state executed those orders he had just received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as absolute as it was pressing: he would

would be still more culpable, if a thousand circumstances of L'Hote's escape, made public by Descartes and Rafis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injustice to believe every thing that on this occasion was said against Villeroi \*; his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the protestants, especially, painted him in the blackest colours, not able to deny themselves the pleasure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other side, it is not fit to hold him clear of any blame, as those that are devoted to him do, who insist, that his whole conduct in this affair was justifiable. All my friends did not scruple to say publicly, that, if such an accident had happened in my family, I should have been much more severely reflected upon. The foreign ambassadors residing in France, and even the Pope's nuncio, came to my house at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after such a discovery, their dispatches must still pass through Villeroi's hands, their masters would not venture to mention any thing of consequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to send some archers after him, who pursued him so closely, that when he came to the side of the river Marne, with a Spaniard who accompanied him, and at a small distance from a ferry-boat, he could not hope to reach it before they came up with him, and saw no other way to avoid their pursuit, than to throw himself into the river, thinking to swim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard chose rather to be taken; and he was brought

\* De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not absolutely escape suspicion; but at the same time he says, that Henry IV. far from suffering himself to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune,

book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewise asserts, that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with the fidelity of this minister to conceive the least suspicion against him, vol. II. b. iii. p. 637.

1604. back to Paris, with the body of L'Hote, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroi seemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to seize his clerk alive: indeed he had reason to regret it; it was the only means he had left to stop the mouth of slander. He was the first to propose to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcase \* treated with the utmost ignominy, and to punish the Spaniard in an exemplary manner.

All this could not appease the king. He knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroi: and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to banish him from his presence. But Villeroi threw himself at his majesty's feet, with so many marks of a profound sorrow, shed tears in such abundance, and made such deep protestations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be persuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodness, so natural to him, granted the pardon he so vehemently implored.

Matters were in this state, when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majesty, which I was indispensably obliged to do, of the representations made me by the foreign ambassadors. It was resolved, that the cypher made use of by our ambassadors should be

\* The surgeons who examined his corps, were unanimously of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned: and, as there was no more appearance of his having been stabbed or strangled, they concluded he had been smothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septenaire takes no notice of this examination by the surgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of L'Hote's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally destroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who, upon other occasions, has given sufficient proofs of his dislike to M. de Villeroi, and

yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldness on this account; "taking the trouble, says he, of going even to his house, to comfort him in his sorrow, not discovering the least signs of diffidence of him by reason of what had past, but seeming rather to put more trust in him than before. It was therefore said at court, that it was happy for him he had so good a master, since, in affairs of state of so much consequence, kings and princes usually expect masters should be answerable for the acts of their servants."

Anno 1604, p. 24.

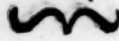
changed;

changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroi more exact (I repeat the king's own words) more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and less haughty than he had formerly been. His majesty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, because I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris by Perroton from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to shew Villeroi. The contents were, that his majesty could not refuse a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this secretary; that I ought no longer to distrust him, since he did not; and that, in his present condition, charity required, that I should write to him a letter to give him comfort, and an assurance of my friendship; and this he entreated me to do.

I seconded the good intentions of his majesty without any reluctance, and, I may even say, with more sincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myself to write to Villeroi, that I held him entirely disculpated. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I said enough to afford him the means of persuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accused. I gave him the hint of the declaration he published some days afterwards, and represented to him, that he ought to endeavour to shut the mouths of the protestants, to whose censure he had laid himself open, and that the only method he could use for that purpose, was to relax a little of that violence he had shewn against them, by seeking to inspire the catholics with more benevolent sentiments of them; and lastly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had so often proposed to him, to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his absolute justification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour,

1604.



1604.  Your, and if as to what had passed I produced the example of marechal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

Villeroi, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed, that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like L'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the king, yet the error he had fallen into was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only said, that the great obligations L'Hote had received from him were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroi by his enemies, since he wrote to him, a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which L'Hote was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with a recompence that was made him; besides the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to by the ambassador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himself, being paid in the last quarter of his pension. Descartes represented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expence; and

and that, notwithstanding all my letters, his master had not been able to get any thing from that quarter. 1604.

The paper upon religion, that has been mentioned before, consisted of some articles, which, if received by the catholics and protestants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by destroying that detestable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harsh accusations of heresy and treason, impiety and idolatry. This paper I had drawn up with the consent and approbation of his majesty; and I shewed it to him several times, in the presence of the bishop of Evreux, Bellievre, Ville-roi, Sillery, and father Cotton.

If the protestants do not believe all the catholics profess, it cannot at least be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewise; and that what we believe contains all that is essential in the christian religion, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation of our common faith. Here then let us stop, and consider the rest as so many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are persuaded, that it is not only useless, but criminal, to search into the secrets of the Almighty; but, we not only search into his secrets, but set up ourselves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to speculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his secrets, as well as the dispensations of his providence: let us allow to the sovereign magistrate, what the public good requires, the power of punishing those who violate the laws of charity in any society; for it belongs not to any human judicature to punish errors only cognizable by God. Let us consider this in another view; if our unhappiness be such, that the error is on our

1604. side, can the catholics imagine that they shall bring us into their notions by abuse and persecution? Compassion and tenderness are the only means that do any service to religion, and the only means that religion dictates: the zéâl which is so much boasted, is only rage or obstinacy, disguised under a reputable appellation. This was the groundwork of my paper: nothing can be more plain or more true; but the power which men allow truth to have over them is very small; and what is generally called reason in religion, if examined well, is, in most men, nothing more than their own passion. - If to reconcile the two religions is morally impossible, it may, with equal certainty, be said to be politically impossible, since it cannot be done without the concurrence of the Pope, which cannot be expected, since it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII. who, of all the Popes that have for a long time sat in the see of Rome, was most free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleness and compassion which the gospel prescribes to all its followers.

The holy father was at this time so old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it necessary to send the cardinals de Joyeuse, and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the interests of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majesty, by the advice of cardinal Joyeuse, gave de Sourdis nine thousand livres for his equipage, and the expence of his journey, with a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he staid at Rome upon his affairs.

One of the last actions of Clement the eighth was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this Pope, finding himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew cardinal Aldobrandin a last proof of his affection, that, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependents on his family which were

1604.

were introduced into the conclave, or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France; and the choice of the two men, whom the king was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a strong intrigue at court, between the bishop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary \* on one side, and messieurs de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, and de Marquemont on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of Du-Perron, and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend; and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, Du-Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroi, as if he had really solicited his advancement: such is the custom of courts.

The pressing affairs that had obliged his majesty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expence of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for the transacting this business, his majesty, to shun that crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the young Lomenie to tell me that I need not come to the Louvre, because he would be himself the next day at the Arsenal; and accordingly he came so early in the morning, that many of the officers, concerned in the affairs that were to be settled, all of whom I had sent for, were not yet come. The number of these was far from being inconsiderable, governors of for-

\* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria. *quémont, archbishop of Lyons: he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.*



1604.  tresses, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the several persons belonging to the board of ordnance, overseers of bridges and causeys, and others.

Henry had something of consequence to impart to me; I judged so by that deep melancholy which, notwithstanding his endeavours to disguise, appeared in his countenance and language, and also because he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his secrets to me: and here the reader may expect to find one of those remarkable conversations that he has already met with in these Memoirs.

Our discourse did not begin with the chief causes of his uneasiness: the heart, involved in its own vexation, has need, in the first instant, of the help of other objects to be disentangled, especially if with this vexation be mingled something of confusion. Therefore the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, with the rest of that cabal, were the subject he first led to; these persons having lately through malice united themselves with the prince of Condé, the marchioness of Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues; and those from whom his majesty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable testimonies.

Having desired this prince to allow me a whole day to consider what advice it was most proper to give him on occasion of this new intrigue, he changed the discourse to his excursion to Chantilly, his hunting; and afterwards he gave me an account of his losses at play, the money he laid out in presents to his mistresses, and other superfluous expences, which were to have their place in the expence of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up so considerable a sum, that Henry, who secretly reproached himself for these extravagancies, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confusion

1604.

sion he expected my remonstrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might also place there a gratuity of six thousand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my astonishment and grief at the increase of such trifling expences. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by saying, that, after spending so great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himself now some indulgence in his pleasures. I answered the king with my accustomed sincerity and firmness, that what he said was indeed very reasonable and just, if, instead of those great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the king of England, he had resolved to pass the rest of his life in the enervating pleasures of luxury; but that if he still retained any thoughts of pursuing his former schemes, he would deceive himself greatly if he supposed them compatible with such expensive amusements, and therefore he must determine his choice upon the one or the other. I stopped at these words; Henry having silently listened to me while I was speaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly absorbed in thought. But the present disposition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our first emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage; yet he contented himself with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the sums he had mentioned to account.

Still, however, I was not discouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own; I had always found him sensible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in so short a time: instead therefore of having recourse to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him, that I

1604.

~~~~~ saw plainly the freedom I had formerly used in my representations was now become displeasing to him, I again renewed the former subject, and talked to him of the measures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for those glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the success the persons he had employed there for that purpose had already found. I repeated, that it was useless to take all this trouble, if the money that should be destined for those great enterprises, was squandered away on unnecessary expences. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of these designs, without having before hand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the strictest economy to keep together; and that with this sum the war could not be supported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burthening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation makes evident.

The maintainance of an army of fifty-thousand foot, which is the least that could be employed on this occasion, will cost nine hundred thousand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; six thousand horse, which is the number answerable to such a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thousand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thousand livres a year; a train of artillery of forty pieces of cannon, cannot well be supplied at a less expence than a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month, and fifteen hundred thousand a year. These three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and by consequence, near fifty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a supposition that the war will continue so long. The expence of making levies, of hiring carriages, of victual, and other things absolutely necessary at the beginning of a war, cannot be estimated at less than

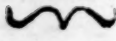
a hundred and fifty thousand livres; the waste of that victual, with other unforeseen expences in ammunition, must amount likewise to the same sum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may easily be imagined, will be consumed in extraordinary expences, too tedious to insert here.

The king still answered, that, before every thing could be in readiness for the execution of these schemes, so many obstacles would arise as to render all his endeavours useless: but while he spoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguished, and that he approved of all I had said to him. This he immediately after confessed, and, at the same time, declared, with a sincerity truly commendable in an absolute prince, that the obstacles he had raised, and the severe things he had said to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppressed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at first complained of when he mentioned the traiterous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen, and the marchioness of Verneuil. These words, unhappily but too sincere, changed the subject of our conversation.

Henry's passion for mademoiselle d'Entragues was one of those unhappy diseases of the mind, which, like a slow poison, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its most sensible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power, nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequalities * of temper, that a proud and ambitious wo-

* He reproaches her on this account, in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the manuscripts in the king's library, and are of his own hand writing. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive from your letter, that neither your eyes, nor your understanding are extremely clear, since you have taken what I

"wrote to you in a quite different sense from what I intended. An end must be put to these pertnesses, if you propose to keep the entire possession of my love; for neither as a king or a Gascon, can I submit to them: besides, those who love sincerely as I do, expect to be flattered, not scolded," &c. "You have

1604.  man is capable of shewing. The marchioness of Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the king; and this power she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regreted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he resented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel: Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the queen his wife.

This princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband: and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment: the queen began immediately to require a sacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refusal, though softened with the grant of every other wish, affected her so sensibly, that she forgot all his compliances, and laboured herself to continue the cause of her own uneasiness, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a husband, of all that tenderness and regard that conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

"promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more prudence; but you must be sensible, the style of your other letter could not but give me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. See the collection of the letters of Henry the Great, lately published.

1604.

She was soon informed, that the king had given mademoiselle d'Entragues a promise of marriage, the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the king; and she never ceased tormenting him till he had promised to get from his mistress this paper, which all the ecclesiastics whom she consulted assured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length resolved to desire the marchioness to restore it; and he demanded it of her in a manner that shewed he would not be refused. He had just left her when he came to the Arsenal: the effort he had made upon himself to take this step, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offensive language with which his mistress had accompanied her refusal, had all together produced that deep affliction in which I saw him.

The marchioness of Verneuil, upon the first intimation that it was expected she should resign the promise of marriage, threw herself into the most violent transport of rage imaginable, and told the king, insolently, that he might seek it elsewhere. Henry, that he might finish at once all the harsh things he had to say to her, began to reproach her with her connections with the count d'Auvergne her brother, and with the malcontents of the kingdom. She would not condescend to clear herself of this imputed crime, but assuming in her turn the language of reproach, she told him, that it was not possible to live any longer with him; that as he grew old he grew jealous and suspicious, and that she would with joy break off a correspondence for which she had been too ill rewarded to find any thing agreeable in it, and which rendered her, she said, the object of the public hatred. She carried her insolence so far, as to speak of the queen in terms so contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of striking her; and that he might not be forced to commit such an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full

1604. full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, swearing that he would make her restore the promise that had raised this storm.

After giving me this account of the behaviour of his mistress, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confession I should have much suspected it) that he should with difficulty bring himself to a resolution of keeping the oath he had made in the first sallies of his fury : and as it is usual with lovers, who never have so strong an inclination to praise the object of their passion, as after they have said all the injurious things possible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his mistress, when out of those capricious humours, and when those sudden gusts of passion had subsided. He praised, with a transport of delight, the charms of her conversation, her sprightly wit, her repartees so poignant, yet so full of delicacy and spirit ; and here indeed he had some foundation for his praises. The queen's temper and manners were so different, that the contrast made him still more sensible of those charms in his mistress. " I find nothing of all this at home, said
 " he to me ; I receive neither society, amusement,
 " nor content from my wife ; her conversation is
 " unpleasing, her temper harsh, she never accom-
 " modates herself to my humour, nor shares in any
 " of my cares ; when I enter her apartment, and
 " offer to approach her with tenderness, or begin
 " to talk familiarly with her, she receives me with
 " so cold and forbidding an air, that I quit her in
 " disgust, and am obliged to seek consolation else-
 " where. When my cousin Guise is at the Louvre,
 " I have recourse to her conversation to banish my
 " uneasiness ; yet she often tells me plain truths,
 " but it is with so good a grace that I cannot be
 " offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the disposition of this prince ; and probably the queen had only herself to blame, that she had not been able to draw him out of the snares of
 her

her rival, or to disengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at least, he appeared to me to be absolutely sincere, and to have the best intentions imaginable, when he pressed me, at the conclusion of this discourse, to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the queen, his wife, to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herself more to his humour.

1604.

I was about to answer, for this subject seemed not yet half discussed, when we were interrupted by messieurs De-Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majesty, that the persons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was so late it would be impossible to do all the business that morning. The king, after recommending secrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the rest of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the Arsenal. The office of surveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my solicitation, to Biçose*, who was then in his service. A commissioner was appointed to go and pull down the fort of Craon. Many other new dispositions were made, which I shall not mention here.

The king did not fail to take the first opportunity to renew the conversation that had been so unseasonably interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the queen so much at heart, that he wrote me billet after billet, enjoining me to undertake the task he had proposed to me. I was sensible I run great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on these occasions with persons of this rank often exposes the mediator to the resentment of one of the parties, and sometimes to that of both; besides, to speak candidly, this employment was less suitable to me than to any other person, these little broils being extremely disagreeable to my temper.

* N. de Biçose, or Vissouse, he was secretary of the finances.

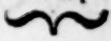
1604.

I therefore resolved to omit no persuasions which I thought capable to make Henry himself take the only reasonable measures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himself to regain his quiet, and fix it upon solid foundations; and all that was necessary for this purpose, was to exert the master and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill humours to herself and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to those who by their malicious informations embittered the mind of this prince, to punish them severely for the slightest word they dared to utter against him. I represented to this prince, that to secure his own peace and the happiness of his life, required only that he should exert a very small part of that courage and strength of mind he had shewn on occasions of a very different nature; that his reputation suffered from that tender fault in his constitution, almost incomprehensible in so great a prince. I told him, that a sovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the sole privilege of his high office, might exact from his subjects and family, as well for his own person, as his state, that obedience so necessary to preserve a just subordination and secure respect: and that it was absolutely fit and just, that he should chastise such persons who made it their business to destroy his domestic quiet. To these arguments I added the strongest entreaties; I conjured Henry with lifted hands, and eyes swimming in tears, to employ his authority on this occasion: the condition I saw him in filled me with the deepest concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared so strongly averse to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois, which being so different from that I pressed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he seemed

to

to be pleased with having an opportunity to tell me, that I perhaps was the true cause of all that had since happened. But there was nothing solid in this objection, if well examined; and when I dissuaded his majesty from having recourse to measures which might have produced dangerous consequences (this I cannot speak more clearly without betraying the secret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking such gentle and easy methods as would be justifiable in the father of a family to secure the tranquillity of his house. And Henry was reduced to the necessity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his disposition, I would be convinced it was absolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards persons with whom he was accustomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

1604.


I had nothing left but to tell him, that then he must banish his mistress, and give his wife all the satisfaction she could require. But he prevented me, by saying, that he was ready, if it must be so, to remove all cause of complaint from the queen, provided he could be assured, that after making her so great a sacrifice, he should find her such as he wished: but that he foresaw he should be plagued all the remainder of his life, because this princess was weak and obstinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner she did, she followed the dictates of reason; when, in effect, she was only governed by her passions. Henry, to convince me of the justness of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had said before, upon the delight she took in contradicting and teasing him; he only added, that she had discovered the most violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before she came into France, which it was not probable she would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little sensibility she had shewn to his tenderness and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with
which

1604. which he prevented all the occasions she might have for money, although he was not ignorant that she never received any but to squander upon Leonora and her husband, and some others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious stories, and giving her bad advice: he took me to witness, that never queen of France had received so many and such considerable grants; and it is certain, that I had been the first to favour and solicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace, which is often purchased by these means, and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expressed against Conchini and his wife, whom he considered as the creatures of Spain, and spies of the duke of Florence, no one, doubtless, would have chosen to be in the place of these two Italians; but this rage had no other consequences than making him condemn himself for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to pass the Alps with her.

This long conversation concluded with the same request as the preceding one had done, that I should attempt, by the gentlest methods, I could think of, to persuade the queen to more condescension to her husband's will, without giving her cause to suspect that I acted by his orders. Henry used every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having, on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.

MEMOIRS

OF

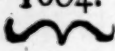
SULLY.

BOOK XVIII.

AT the very time that the king gave me 1604.
this commission to the queen, chance offered me a very favourable opportunity to execute it. The most common method of making grants to this princess, was either to create edicts in her favour, as those which I have just mentioned, or by granting to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interest and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorise the persons concerned.

The queen was offered four and twenty thousand livres to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the excise in Languedoc. She sent d'Argouges * to shew me the edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told d'Argouges, that his majesty might indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it; the king appearing to me so dis-

* Florent d'Argouges, treasurer of the queen's household: his son was first president of the parliament of Brittany, and at the time of his death, a counsellor of state, and of the privy council.

1604.  contented with some late proceedings of this princess, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless she first endeavoured to remove his displeasure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and services on this occasion, if she thought I could be of any use to her. The queen, tempted by a sum so considerable, accepted my offer, and promised every thing, believing that, by writing a submissive letter to the king, as she had done before, she should certainly succeed: accordingly she wrote a letter, and sent for me to shew it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

Never had any step she had taken cost her so much. She had so great an aversion for the marchioness of Verneuil, that she would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumstance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her gestures, her emotions, her very silence itself, expressed, in the most lively manner, what she would not say. As it was absolutely necessary to accustom her to hear her rival spoken of, I put her upon this subject without reserve; and then she consoled herself with giving the marchioness the most severe epithets her imagination could furnish her with; she said she never could resolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herself in comparison with her, and inculcated the same insolence and want of respect for her in her children, who embroiled the state by countenancing the malecontents, while the king, blinded by his passion, took no care to restrain her.

I began by sympathising with her in her griefs; but shewing her how much the cause of them was increased by her behaviour to the king, I made her so fully sensible of her fault, that she wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and sent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impression of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her

1604.

her an answer so tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the same strain: but unfortunately, just before this letter was delivered to her, her emissaries had informed her, that the king was gone as usual to the marchioness de Verneuil, and insinuated that he was diverting himself with his mistress at her credulity. She now forgot all that she had promised, said the king had deceived her; and, instead of writing, told the messenger who brought her his majesty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that she need not write, since she expected to see the king the next day, as he had promised her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he should be, at this behaviour, and could not be silent: those that heard what he said in the first emotions of his anger, were not persons who he could expect would be secret as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was said on both sides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worse state than before.

I was now engaged in a new affair, that of settling the debate; but at most I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his majesty could not prevail upon himself to take the only effectual methods that remained. These proposals I again made him, when he sent La-Varenne for me one day, to find, if possible, some remedy for his continual disquiets, which became every day more insupportable. I found him in the Orangerie of the Tuilleries, which a shower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly pressing me to tell him what he should do, and, upon my refusal, absolutely commanded me to give him my advice, "Then oblige four or five persons, said I to him, to pass the sea, and as many others the Alps." The king answered, that half of my counsel he could follow without any difficulty, since nothing hindered him from exercising some severity upon those sedi-

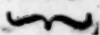
1604.

tious persons who were conspiring against him in his court, but that it was not the same with the Italians; because that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that vindictive people, but likewise by removing her favourites, he should give such offence to the queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the proposal I had made him, fell upon a very singular expedient, which was, to get this princess herself to consent to what I had advised. He stopped there, as if the thing had really been possible, and insisted upon my using all my endeavours to work this miracle, promising me, that if I succeeded, he would, from that moment, renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commission, he left me, as he said, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceased during our conversation.

I did not begin with the queen, by asking immediately a sacrifice which I saw she was not disposed to make; I believed that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majesties; and this I laboured with so much assiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the past, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm lasted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amusements were thought of every day: but some new stratagems of the marchioness de Verneuil's having produced their ordinary effect, these good resolutions vanished again, and it became necessary, as a last resource, to attempt the expedient proposed by the king.

It may easily be imagined, in what manner the queen received a proposal to send away, in some sort disgracefully, those persons of her household whom she loved the most. I expected she would
refuse

1604.



refuse me, and I had no hopes but from my obstinacy in returning often to the charge : but this princess continued inflexible ; and, to say the truth, Henry, on his side, so ill performed the promise he had given me, to reward this sacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that she drew from thence her best arguments for not yielding to mine.

What I had foreseen, really happened ; the queen, instigated by those whom I directly attacked, began to seek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to separate Henry from his mistress. But I did not fail to observe to her, that she performed her promise no better ; and by that appearance of coldness and dislike, which, after so many relapses, the king looked upon as insurmountable, she was herself the cause of that evil she imputed to me. I proposed Madam de Guise to her as an example she should follow, if she ever hoped to fix the king's affection solely upon herself. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the respect I ought to have done to her letters : this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was less unreasonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom she was absolutely governed. To this complaint I answered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I saw written by the hand of any of her secretaries, because they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjust solicitors who abused her name, or written with a view to draw her resentment upon me if I refused to comply with them ; but as for those written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuse me with having neglected to answer them with the utmost deference and respect.

To say the truth, it was absolutely necessary that I should continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreasonable importunities

1604. to any failure of respect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands: the expences of her household alone cost the king every year three hundred and forty-five thousand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour, were not sufficient to supply her other expences: she one day, in a fit of ill humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather those that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a necessity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was passed in every parish for her advantage; some receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behind hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uses; she took upon herself to pay the nuptial expences of Santi, her Italian gardener, and asked me for six hundred livres for that purpose: this was indeed but a trifling sum, but by such trifles as these one may judge of this princess's disposition with regard to oeconomy. What could I do in this perplexing situation, since the inconvenience was equal whether I granted all, or refused all, but to refuse whatever was really an encroachment upon justice, and a detriment to the public good, and in such demands as must indispensably be granted, and especially edicts, to prevent any oppression in levying the money? As to their majesties personal quarrels, it must be confessed, that in the king's conduct there were unaccountable weaknesses, and in the queen's inexcusable irregularities.

From the little success I had met with ever since I had first interposed in these domestic debates, I at length was fully convinced, that in these affairs such only as were interested should undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly slipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewise made use of on this occasion. He sometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment re-

quired complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither flatter the sentiments of others, nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear: and there the resentment of a wife and a mistress both was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first observation has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

At the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the marchioness of Verneuil increased every day, I was desired by the king to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that this once I began to hope the affair would not end but in an open rupture, which was what I most ardently wished for. She not only refused to give his majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that she even went so far, as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable, to prevail upon the king to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired, that as soon as I went home I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to give me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the king, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince: a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he would have never been able to pardon; for in affairs of love he carried his sensibility and delicacy

1604. cacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to send this letter to the marchioness before it was given to the king, and at the same time desired she would read and examine it with attention, that she might be convinced I had said nothing more in this letter (which was very long) than she had dictated to me; and intreated her to let me know, whether I had not scrupulously observed the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal message, but to oblige this lady to write what she thought necessary to be altered in the letter, and all that she would have me add to it.

She had already relaxed much from the severity of her first resolution; my messenger perceived it, by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing dissatisfied, though she did not give the least hint that the letter should be suppressed. My servant finding that she returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any positive answer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he entreated that she would write down what she had just said to him, that he might not incur any blame from his master for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She understood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; she therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that she approved of the whole letter, except one expression, which was sufficient, she said, to put the king into a violent passion. I had told the king in this letter, that the marchioness entreated him still to allow her the honour of seeing him sometimes, but to have no *private correspondence* with her; the last words she softened by adding, "*that might be prejudicial to him,*" which made no great difference.

I carefully deposited the marchioness's letter, and sent mine to the king, not without having some hopes, that pride, and affronted love, if not reason, would prevail upon him to concur in the resolution his mistress

mistress had taken, and that he would at length
cease to be the slave of a woman. In effect, he read
my letter twice over with all the indignation and
rage which might naturally be expected. "How!"
said he, does she desire our correspondence may
be broke off? I desire it more ardently than she
does; she shall be taken in her own snares."
The king uttered these words in a low voice, but
my messenger heard them. He asked for paper
and pens, and wrote a billet to me that instant, in
which he promised, that on the Monday following
the marchioness of Verneuil should receive a letter
from his hand, which should prove that he still knew
how to command his passions.

This billet of the king's was dated the 16th of
April, but that of Monday never came; but on his
arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his mistress's
house, flattering himself that he should at least over-
whelm her with confusion, and force from her a
thousand painful regrets. Far from it; it was him-
self that played this part; he disavowed all that
his agents had done, he condemned himself; in a
word, he threw himself upon the mercy of her who
had just treated him with the utmost contempt.
Then it was that I thought myself happy to be pos-
sessed of a letter from the marchioness that could re-
strain his resentment against me. She however ima-
gined, that this letter could not hinder me from
appearing, through her representations, as an in-
cendiary and slanderer. I would not take upon me
to answer for Henry's good opinion of me that mo-
ment; the letter I shewed him when he came to the
arsenal undeceived him, but it could not open his
eyes upon the arts of his unworthy mistress; he
told me at parting, that he would chide her severely.
I did not believe him; and indeed how could I
after what had just happened?

After the reconciliation between the king and the
queen, which was made, as has been seen, at the ex-
pence of the marchioness of Verneuil; this woman,

1604. who for the first time thought herself really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accomplished her purpose. It is wonderful to think how many springs she put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealousy; even religion was profaned to serve her purpose; she would be a nun, and devote herself to perpetual confinement; she openly joined the party of the malecontents; she sought out all the young women to whom Henry had discovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge such promises of marriage as that he had given to her; she made so insolent a use of that, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found ecclesiastics who countenanced her in these extravagancies, and who were hardy enough to publish the banns of marriage which she boasted she would oblige the king to contract with her. At the same time a great number of letters and memoirs were distributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretensions of this woman were supported *. Henry would have given any reward for a discovery of the authors of these writings, his whole court were employed to find them out, and myself among the rest.

I should never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumstances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon some that had a share in it: but I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince, who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness of his mind. This storm, which was occasioned by a mere love quarrel, ended, as usual

* See the cardinal D'Ossat's de Verneuil's party. Letters of complaints on this occasion against the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular against a capuchin, called father Hilary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the marchioness the 22d February and 15th October, 1601, and of the 1st of April, 1602. The liberty of publishing satirical libels was never so great as at that time.

1604.

with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever *. It was fixed, that by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince should, throughout his whole life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expence of his quiet and his health. These two motives made me still interest myself in these unpleasing affairs; for I could not, without the most sensible affliction, see the health of a prince so dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illness this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave so much employment to the physicians, La Riviere and Du-Laurens; he was obliged to use bleeding often, and observe a strict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a blood heavy and inflamed, which brought frequent indispositions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into such an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at some late proceeding of the marchioness de Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was sitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa †, with the greater conveniency.

Nothing would have been wanting to complete the unhappiness of these domestic quarrels, if queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only misfortune that Henry escaped; and certainly this princess merited the highest encomiums for the sweetness of her temper, her resignation, and, above

* "The duke of Sully has often told me (says the author of *L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*) that he never knew them a week together without quarrelling. He also told me, that once the queen was so far transported with passion, that being near the king, and hastily lifting up her arm, he was so apprehensive

"she was going to do something further, that he caught hold of her with less respect than he wished to have done, and so roughly, that she afterwards complained he had struck her," &c. Vol. I. p. 8.

† The Spa-waters are in the bishopric of Liege.

1604.

all, for her disinterestedness, in a situation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all she could desire; her demands were few, and for things not only necessary in themselves, but such as she had an incontestable right to, the fulfilling such engagements as had been made with her, and some exemptions for her borough of Usson; her chief solicitation was on account of succeeding to the possessions of her mother queen Catherine: that princess, by her contract of marriage with Henry II. was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her sons, to her daughters, preferable to the natural children of her husband. Although this disposition was absolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, count of Auvergne*, pretended a claim, to the prejudice of Margaret. She had not the principal writings that proved the legality of hers: but the king interposed his authority to make it be given her, and that she should obtain the justice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the same rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be discovered that she had once been the wife of the king. I should not confine my praises to what I have already said of her, were I not apprehensive of being accused of partiality; since the interest which this princess had always the goodness to take in my fortune is well known; her letters to me were such as one would write to a sincere and unalterable friend; “ You are always (thus she expresses herself in one of

* By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III. had made to him of these estates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged these estates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 38, gives an enumeration of these estates, consisting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous, Douzenac, Chouffac, Correges, Hondécourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand livres; besides that princess's portion of more than two hundred thousand crowns or ducats, “ which,” says he, would be worth now “ more than four hundred thousand;” together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious stones, jewels, &c.

“ them)

"them) my resource, and, after God, my surest
"reliance."

1604.

But let us now pass to other cares and uneasinesses that the king suffered this year from a traiterous cabal, in which the marchioness de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating incessantly the names of the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, and de Rohan, the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du-Plessis, and the rest, it may be easily imagined that these are the persons I mean. The same spirit of sedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had set on foot with the protestant party in the synod of Gap, still directed their enterprises, and suggested to them innumerable stratagems, either to raise an insurrection among the king's subjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is scarce credible how many slanderous lies were propagated of his majesty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed against the government by the authority of these leaders.

The king, when he sent me to Paris, by d'Escures, some advices he had just received at Saint-Germain-en-laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I should with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it. Indeed I am obliged to confess, that the proceedings of the French protestants were such, as left them no reason to complain of any one but themselves, if they one day met with a severe punishment for them. They boasted almost openly, that they would oblige his majesty, not only to receive the duke of Bouillon in his kingdom, but also to invest him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du-Plessis, the soul that animated this body, suggested only such thoughts; La-Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by persuading them, that they would very shortly behold a surprising revolution in France; the duke of Rohan,

1604. Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himself to spread this report in foreign countries, and in England especially, by a trusty emissary named Durand, who used his utmost endeavours to draw off his Britannic majesty from Henry's party. This man, who at London assumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, shewed himself so faithful and officious a servant, that the king, as well as every one else, was persuaded that he had exceeded his commission; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the establishment of his master in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized: if this design was not Durand's alone, it could only be suggested by the duchess dowager of Rohan. It is also certain, that the duke of Rohan ordered Durand to present the king of England, in his name, with a horse of great price, which, in the present conjuncture, it was not justifiable for him to do, without Henry's consent.

But it was more necessary to enter into a strict examination of the count of Auvergne's conduct, than any of the others; few persons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with respect to the common cause, or his own particular one; he had made use of the promise of marriage, given by Henry to * the marchioness de Verneuil his sister, to

* The historians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the count of Auvergne with the Spanish council; but Amelot de La Houffaye will help us out on this occasion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he assures us, that the count of Auvergne, and the marchioness of Verneuil, entrusted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's side, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaster-general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the dis-

grace of the count of Auvergne, and sent to the Bastile, he kept the original of the treaty so well concealed in the skirt of his doublet, that no one discovered it; and, finding himself treated as a state criminal, he, by degrees, eat both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain annexed to it, up in the soups, and other victuals, which were brought to his table. The king of Spain thereby promised to assist the count of Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne, who was the son of Henry IV. by the marchioness of

serve

serve his designs, and joined to it, a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found persons credulous enough to consider them both in a serious light: it is certain, that he had acquired great credit and strong influence there; we shall soon see to what it conducted him.

1604.

The methods his majesty made use of to render all these intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himself with his accustomed attention and assiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with such men only as were distinguished for their merit, their probity, and zeal for his service. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made president of the court of aids in Montpelier, in reward for having usefully served his majesty in Languedoc. Henry likewise commanded me to assemble the chancellor, Villeroi, and Sillery, who with me composed a kind of council, to consider of this matter. By his orders, I still kept up a correspondence by letters with the principal protestants, which I own was of little service to his majesty: his chief dependance, and with reason, was upon the journey he proposed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc, while I on my side was to visit Poitou, and the western part of France.

I greatly approved of this design when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourselves together a long time in making preparations for these two journeys; the necessity for going to take

Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is styled dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues-Balsac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houffaye further assures us, in the note on the cardinal D'Ossat's letters above-mentioned, that two capuchins, called father Hillary of Grenoble, and father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conspiracy.

as if something further had been intended in favour of the count of Auvergne himself: perhaps he had some design of setting up some writing or disposition of his father Charles IX, by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See also, on this subject, the Memoirs of the life of the president De Thou, and in particular his History, anno 1605. Vitt. Siri's Mem. second, vol. I. p. 297.

M. de Sully seems to insinuate,

possession

1604. possession of my government served me for a pretence for mine ; the king wanted no excuse for his : on the contrary, it was fit he should not appear ignorant of the occasion that made his presence necessary in the southern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On some pretence or other, I was to visit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guyenne ; and his majesty was likewise to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnois, and Dauphiné, in his way *, so that between us we were to go through almost all France. We settled the time of our departure, our stay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouse ; and I looked upon his majesty's journey to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of coming immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay, it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at farthest. Such persons as had business depending in the king's council, pressed the conclusion of it with the utmost assiduity, as soon as the king's intention was made public ; and the counsellors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not chuse to leave the business they had begun, to be finished by the new council, appointed by his majesty during his absence.

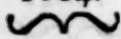
This scheme, so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the king's part in it. As soon as his majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar ; and it caused, as usual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this design

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny, on the subject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July 1604, with an indorsement thereon, as most of his letters have, in the hand-writing of this minister. Henry IVth's letters.

did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expences of so tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniencies usual in such expeditions; so that, when his majesty proposed the affair in form to his counsellors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

They alledged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the count d'Auvergne and the marchioness de Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had risen lately between the republic of Grisons, and the count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss. All those affairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately: in a word, they found so many inconveniences likely to accrue from this journey, and knew so well how to aggravate them, that the king was prevailed upon to alter his resolution.

They even suggested reasons to his majesty, to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit, to another opportunity, my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made use of, to dissuade the king from his journey, had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted

1604.  sisted in my first opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the state.

One man, whom the news of his majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Lefdiguieres; and a report being then current, that the count of Soissons was shortly to be put in possession of those cautionary places given to Lefdiguieres, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his majesty had taken. His correspondence with the duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du-Bourg.

I set out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several persons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention, but to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom, I may, without scruple, put * Richelieu and Pont-courlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my designs, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn all that should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures, as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal, or raise suspicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this, my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of

* Francis Du-Plessis de Richelieu, father of cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-courlai.

their designs; the correspondence his majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

It was but too true, that the king's enemies and mine, had taken measures before hand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the populace against me: that which appeared most likely to produce this effect, was to spread a report, that the design which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors * of the salt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchase them for the king. Those in whom I discovered the greatest malevolence towards me, were such from whom it was least to be expected, my brethren the protestants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet these affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refused to let me into the secret of their debates, yet it was always upon such plausible pretences, that I had room to feign myself entirely satisfied. They were apprehensive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, because he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commissioned d'Aubigné and Constant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him

* Perefice makes no doubt, but Henry IV. really had formed this design, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the

gabelle or salt duty, which, he asserts, this prince was fully determined to abolish, as well as the taille. p. 369.

1604. while he continued about me. But this malignancy, with respect to me, extended no farther than to a small number of persons; or if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the most distinguishing marks of respect in every place where I made any stay; and in those that I only passed through, they came to meet me, harangued me, and escorted me with ceremony on my way. The ecclesiastics seemed most eager to shew me respect; and I never heard the least expression that suggested a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unsociable, gave me, by their polite and respectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I was still more surprised at the conduct of the Rochellers: this imperious city, that usually makes it her boast to have only the king himself for governor, and under him that haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three persons proposed by them to his majesty, might have laid great stress upon those mighty prerogatives with so much the more reason, in respect to me, as their city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor chosen by themselves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horse: such an escort gave me the less room to be apprehensive of those attempts his majesty warned me to be careful of; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any distinction of persons or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and most of them in the houses of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the king's health, and said, that, if his majesty had done them the honour to present himself before their gates, though followed with thirty thousand men, they would have opened them to him; and that, if their gates were

not

not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but respect and submission, and heard nothing but praises of this prince; they likewise assured me, with the most flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the same manner.

1604.

The dinner I have mentioned consisted of seventeen tables, the least of which had sixteen covers; and the next day they gave me a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; they added to it, the representation of a naval fight between Correilles, and Chef-de-Baye, in which twenty French vessels attacked a like number of Spanish vessels. The vanquished Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, exposed to public view; and they were presented to me as to his lieutenant-general: nothing was wanting to render this shew complete; dresses, arms, pavillions, and escutcheons, all were chosen with the utmost propriety. I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whose elogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their prisoners: excepting these, and the sieur de Luffan, I punished severely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majesty was satisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to ask him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned some circumstances which persuaded me, the count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

The king had allowed me so little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer visiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permission from his majesty to go to Saint-John d'Angely, and to Brouage, by representing to him the necessity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that district, who suspected

1604.

that the king had an intention to deprive them of their salt-pits. I set out from Rochelle, to go to these two places, and was received by messieurs de Rohan and de Saint-Luc still better than I expected. I used my utmost endeavours to recall Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recall Durand from thence: he appeared greatly astonished at this discourse, complained of the calumnies his enemies spread abroad of him; disavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his sincerity, acknowledged circumstances unasked, as the horse presented by him to king James, but assured me, he had obtained his majesty's permission for it, which he could easily bring to his remembrance.

From Saint-Jean I resumed the road to Paris through Thours, where I was desirous of having a conference with the duke de La-Tremouille. I did not expect so polite a reception from him as I really received, sensible that he must be greatly mortified to see me possess a government, and receive honours, to which he had aspired with such extreme ardency, as to solicit them publicly. Our conversation often turned on the many causes of complaint the protestant party had given the king; and even in the presence of Parabere, Saint-Germain-de-Clan, Besses, La-Valliere, Constant, d'Aubigné (these were hardly ever absent) Preaux, La-Ferriere, and La Saussaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injustice that had been done them by the king, protesting their fidelity and attachment to his majesty; and the better to impose upon me, accompanied their assurances with so much civility to myself, and such gross flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

In the midst of all this art and disguise, I did not cease to penetrate into their designs, by turning the discourse, in their presence, upon the state of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themselves then in spite of their endeavours to the contrary; and

and it was no longer possible for me to doubt, that all this little court of people attached to the dukes of Rohan and de La Tremouille were, in reality, such as they were represented to his majesty : but what I discovered at the same time, and the intelligence which the post I possessed in that province afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the sequel, the utmost certainty that these gentlemen had no power with the rest of the protestant party ; they were no longer, as formerly, those absolute leaders that, with a single word, drew all their suffrages ; but, on the contrary, they were shunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the assemblies. This they had brought upon themselves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon such dangerous and ridiculous enterprizes, as had at length undeceived the most credulous amongst them ; and the highest idea that could be now given of them was, that they formed a party in the midst of the party itself, and only supported themselves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but possessed the shadow.

I did not neglect to make all the advantage I could of such favourable dispositions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been spread among them concerning the salt-pits, the excise, and other monopolies, which had been made use of to excite them to sedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king ; their notions of his tyranny and their slavery were wholly effaced. I made the protestants comprehend how groundless their suspicions were, that Henry had ever designed to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the state, since it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions ; I convinced them likewise, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with respect to Clement the eighth, who was so far from endeavouring to extirpate the protestants, that he had, on all occasions,

1604. occasions, strongly opposed making war against them.

My actions completed the work these assurances had begun; I distributed pensions among those of the party who had advised peace, and served the king faithfully; and, to convince them absolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their sovereign, I shewed them the paper, that contained all the reformations he proposed to make in the state, the same that I have formerly mentioned, with which they were fully satisfied. By these means I so weakened the duke de La-Tremouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it six persons of any consequence. The duke of Bouillon was so greatly affected with the knowledge that he had lost all the remaining interest he had hitherto preserved in this district of France, that he determined to pass the rest of his days in that kind of exile which kept him quiet in the court of the elector Palatine in spite of himself. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the duke's secrets, wrote an account of this design to La-Suassaye, of whom he thought himself absolutely secure; but La-Suassaye gave me Saint-Germain's letter, which I shewed to his majesty.

Having thus performed all that the present conjuncture, and the shortness of the time permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated commands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as soon as possible, and followed in a few days my last letter, which I wrote to his majesty from Thouars on the 16th of July. Before I went away I visited the duke de La-Tremouille for the last time; he was indisposed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of death when I set out from thence; he died * without being prevailed upon to

* Claude de La-Tremouille, See his elogium in De Thou, book duke of Thouars, died of the gout, xxxi. and Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. being only thirty-four years of age. p. 663;

promise that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malecontents of one leader. 1604.

I arrived at Paris on the 22d of July, where I found a billet from his majesty, dated the 18th, in which he desired me to send into every part of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, whither I had a design to go myself, two persons on whose fidelity and understanding I could rely, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having given over drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind and obliging reception this prince gave me, that I had been fortunate enough to give him satisfaction * as to the business that had occasioned my journey; and I now related to him, during the course of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

It has been reported, that the duke of Epernon behaved at that time in such a manner in Guienne, as to give his majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I also distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what was said to the disadvantage of d'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his majesty of this duke, has no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was sufficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the subject of the dispute between Du-Plessis and the bishop of Evreux, in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and speak from my own knowledge.

His majesty, after the time here meant, granted D'Epernon a thousand things unask'd, and often

* De Thou says, this journey of M. de Rosny freed Henry IV. from great disquiet, book xxxi.

1604. pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the same compliment from him. If Henry heard any thing to the duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion, after the letters that d'Epernon sent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the king and the duke of Epernon during the life, and even after the death of Henry III. and that this prince had discovered some resentment towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been shewn to the proofs which Henry has given more than once of that true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the duke of Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

For myself, I was so far from being an enemy to d'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto shewn myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship or hatred, or accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow; which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during all that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolance upon this accident; and he thanked

thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewise his confidant in all that regarded the king *. Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwise, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreserved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the count of Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious subject of all means of conspiring against the state: the unseasonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majesty at the time that marechal Biron suffered a just sentence, was the cause of his relapse; as the tenderness his majesty had shewn for this whole family, on account of the marchioness de Verneuil, had first encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find such another opportunity as his majesty had suffered to escape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller discoveries concerning those intrigues might be expected from the seizure of Morgan †, his chief agent, who was just then arrested, but the king was contented with suffering D'Escures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to discover the plot, and by gentle methods persuade him to come and throw himself at his majesty's feet.

In effect, d'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wisest and the only part he had to take; the seizing of Morgan had wholly disconcerted him, and the measures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his designs could be concealed, or that they were in sufficient forwardness to enable him to throw off the mask; he feared that

* See the originals of these letters in the old Memoirs; they seem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the duke

of Epemon.

† Thomas Morgan, an Englishman. See De Thou, *ibid.*

1604. by flying he should expose the count and countess d'Entragues and his whole family, to a shameful treatment; he therefore yielded to d'Escures' arguments, and promised to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his closet secrets, and even to shew a letter from his sister, which he said was of the utmost consequence, provided that his majesty would grant him the pardon he had promised. The original of this letter from the marchioness de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit should be given to it, because the brother and sister sometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and often in such high disgust that they could not bear each other's sight. That which appears most worthy of observation in this letter is, that in it she exhorts her brother to a secure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herself determined to do the like.

That the count d'Auvergne was not very sincere in the promise he made d'Escures, appears by his sending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he set out himself for Paris. The bishop of Montpellier discovered this intrigue, and sent the king notice of it: but this prince was willing a second time to listen to his fine promises. He only ordered, that the parliament should finish Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public might give more weight to the pardon he was resolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the prosecution was, to get that famous promise * of marriage he had in vain solicited his mistress to return, restored to him by d'Entragues: which was done in the presence of the count of Soissons, the duke of Montpensier, the chancellor, Sillery, La-Guêlle, Jeannin, Gevres,

* Henry IV. in order to get back this promise was obliged to pay the marchioness de Verneuil, twenty thousand crowns down, and to promise the baton of a ma-

rechal of France to the count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action. De Thou, book cxxxii.

and Villeroi; that this restitution might not be afterwards eluded by any restriction or disavowal; and an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his majesty on that subject; and the declaration of d'Entragues confirming this, was joined to the paper.

This conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the count of Auvergne less rash and enterprising; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almost before his majesty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was imposed upon by his appearances of sincerity: but at length the whole mystery was discovered by some letters written and received by d'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, and by him carried immediately to the king. This prince was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the resolution that had been taken to arrest him could be executed, determined within himself never to return to it again after the danger he had so lately escaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the least information that any thing was resolved on against him.

The king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Escures was sent again to Auvergne: he went a third time, but to no purpose: the methods that had formerly succeeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earnestly pressed, but with such appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not possible to draw from his refusal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they should do. He made the fairest promises imaginable, and always appeared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which

1604.

which was to secure his person ; but this did not seem easy to effect.

I cast my eyes upon a man who seemed to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat ; his personal hatred to the count d'Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time upon the spot without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprize, and his zeal for the service of his majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the king when his majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I sent for Murat ; to whom at first I acted with all the reserve and precaution that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that instead of bringing arguments for being dispensed with for such a service, he himself prevented my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him ; he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope that d'Escures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his instructions I enjoined him not to act but in concert with d'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part that was to be given him in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'Escures set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going) and Murat followed him a few days afterwards, provided with blank letters for the cities and officers *de presideaux*, which were to be filled up at the places themselves. In the mean time some letters from d'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expressed so much fear and shame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it best for
d'Escures

1604.

d'Escures to avoid pressing him to take that step, lest he should increase his apprehensions. Murat had now orders to act singly; and d'Escures, on his side, to use his utmost endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all d'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if possible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this d'Escures executed with such dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from suspecting any of those measures the council was now pursuing.

A little affair between a brother of Murat's and the count of Auvergne gave this trusty agent a pretence for going to the count; which having settled between them, the count, of himself, entered into a conversation with him concerning the state of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of seeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himself had said. D'Auvergne founded violent suspicions upon the insinuations that were given him, that the king expected he should shew himself at court; and upon d'Escures's endeavouring to persuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the king's desire, he therefore assured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expose himself to the fury of his enemies, he would submit himself to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of marechal Biron, which seemed to give him great apprehensions; and said, that formerly having had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not resolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new services, and till the pardon his majesty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to understand, that his reason for not being willing to trust the intentions of the court, arose from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this notice having been sent to him from some of the courtiers themselves, persons of the first distinction,

1604. tion, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deserved to be relied on.

Murat finding himself thus made a confidant of, answered with great seeming simplicity, that since the count had confessed his error to the king, he saw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his case and that of marechal Biron; and that nothing but a relapse into the same error could authorise his scruples, since Henry had never yet broke his word with any one; therefore his best counsellors would be his own conscience. D'Escures likewise laboured with equal sollicitude to re-assure him with regard to the king, and to give him a distrust of those persons that sent him the informations he had mentioned.

To all this the count only replied, that when his life was in question he would not run any hazard; that neither the king, the queen, or the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the master of the horse was his mortal enemy; that the silence of his friends on this occasion was one proof of his ruin being determined; that no one solicited for him to the king; that he now never received any letters from Villeroy, Sillery, or me, because we were not willing to reproach ourselves with having been the instruments of his fate; that the constable no longer corresponded with him, for fear of rendering himself suspected: but it was with the marchioness de Verneuil he appeared to be most discontented; he knew his sister, he said, to make her peace with the king at his expence, was capable of charging him with false crimes, if she could not with real ones; and concluded with new protestations, that nothing should draw him from his retreat. As he did not suspect that d'Escures and Murat were come with an intention to persuade him to go, he told them that he supposed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would lose his labour.

The retreat he was resolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor house, without any conveniences, but situated in the midst of a wood, where d'Auvergne passed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his thoughts, the wildness of his look and air, and the disorder of his whole person, would have been a sufficient testimony against him: nothing could be more miserable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his punishment, both the king and the state. He was afraid to stay in his house, yet durst not trust himself at any considerable distance from it; he was never seen in the neighbouring towns; he had left off visiting his friends, nor durst even confide in his mistress, a certain lady, named madame de Chateau-gay; he no longer visited her at her house, but when he chose to see her they met in an obscure village, or in the midst of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the same place. His servants, whom he posted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they saw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and sometimes he made use of dogs for his guard.

With these precautions he defied all his enemies, and insolently, as well as imprudently, boasted, that he should always be able to deceive and escape them: nevertheless, his resolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the same mind. And this man, so wise, so sagacious, penetrated so little into the intentions of those that came to destroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counsellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himself to their discretion. But prudence is a quality seldom found with a bad conscience; had d'Auvergne possessed ever so little of it he would have known, that there was no safety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and

1604. and this probably, was the only scheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment that, to d'Escures and Murat, he appeared determined not to expose himself to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a strain quite different. He once sent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues distant from his own house: though this summons gave them at first some uneasiness, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had sent for them only to tell them he was now resolved to go and present himself to the king. His majesty, to whom they sent immediate notice of this resolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a false report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that d'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to set out for Paris. In this it was not d'Escures and Muret that were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconstancy; for he was the first to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his last answer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents seemed to consent, purely through complaisance to him.

This whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received, at the same time, a letter from the count d'Auvergne himself. He complained to the two agents, that he never had any answer to four letters, which, he said, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but altogether; and the writing so like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that d'Auvergne did not think of me at first, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that afterwards, supposing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourse to it, with the well known,

known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his design.

1604.



If the count had any intention to draw a promise from me which, on this occasion, he might make use of as a security, he deceived himself greatly: I sent him an answer indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to say to him, than what I had said before to marechal Biron in the same circumstances, I treated him like a state criminal, without augmenting his suspicions; the letter I wrote to Auvergne, in a word, was but a copy of that which I had written to marechal Biron; and he could not be ignorant that it was so, since I acknowledged it plainly. It is by this counterstroke, which is doubtless of new invention, that I gave d'Auvergne to understand, he ought neither to attribute to the king, such sentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a stress upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own unquiet conscience. This was all that I wrote to Auvergne; and after his conviction, this proceeding appeared so candid, and so free from all artifice, that he praised it greatly.

Descures and Murat at length found the opportunity they had so long waited for. M. de Vendôme's regiment of light horse being to be reviewed, they imparted a scheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all ready, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the count, and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be present at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, because he was not only mounted upon a horse, which, as he said, outstripped the wind; and, indeed, he was accustomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermission; but he was resolved not to enter any narrow place, or to dismount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review.

1604.

Nereftan advanced to falute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance; but in reality, four ftout and refolute foldiers, whom they had difguifed in liveries. At the instant that Nereftan was paying his compliments, two of thefe foldiers feized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the fame time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horfe, throwing themfelves upon him fo fuddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his pistols, nor draw his fword, and ftill lefs to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and fhut up in the Baftile *.

D'Entragues was arrested at the fame time that the count d'Auvergne was; and the marchionefs de Verneuil was, in fome fort, affociated with the two criminals, fince the king confented that fhe fhould be confined in her houfe †, where fhe continued under the guard of the chevalier Du Guet. It was this affociation that faved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At firft they had not dared to hope for fo much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after fuch frequent relapfes, ef-

* "The countefs of Auvergne, as meek and humble as the marchionefs was haughty and imperious, having thrown herfelf at the king's feet with all the marks of the deepeft forrow, to beg his pardon for her husband, his majesty, with great courtesy, raifed her up and faluted her, faying thus to her, I feel the utmoft compaffion for your mifery and your tears; but if I fhould grant your request, this my wife (taking the queen by the hand) muft be declared a whore, my fon a baf tard, and my kingdom fall a prey to others. The fame lady having obtained the king's permiffion to fend one to fee her husband, and to enquire of him what fhe could do for his fervice, he fent her word, only to let him have fome good

cheefe and muftard, and not to trouble herfelf about any thing further." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

"The count of Auvergne," fays Amelot in the place before quoted, had fo entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is, the paymafter Cheyillard) that, in three examinations he underwent, he faid, with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely innocent, in this refpect, *Gentlemen, fhew me one fingle line of my writing to prove I ever entered into any treaty with the king of Spain, or his ambaffador, and I will write the fentence of my death under it, and condemn myfelf to be quartered alive.*"

† In the houfe of one Audicourt, in Saint Paul's ftreet.

pecially

1604.

pecially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmost severity. The count of Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correspondencies, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him.

Messages at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the marchioness de Verneuil, not on the same account; for I am persuaded, the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The king could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; with difficulty it was that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the marchioness, that she should purchase this pardon, by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La-Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court was employed in these messages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithstanding his anger, that he should raise too strong an obstacle to his reconciliation with the object of his passion. The marchioness discovered and well knew how to make her advantage of this weakness. I likewise served Henry for an interpreter upon this occasion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour: but he insisted upon my interposing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make the conclusion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

The first order his majesty gave me, was to go to the marchioness de Verneuil, and hear what she had to say concerning the crimes she was accused of, to draw from her a confession of them, and make her sensible of her ingratitude. I cannot say that my commission went farther, unless one takes in several bitter reproaches, and some advice which proved to be useless, concerning the manner in which

1604. she ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid such great obligations upon her. I did not see her the first time I went to her house; she ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any visits. I sent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I should attend her; but, before my messenger was returned, a servant, whom she had sent in the mean time, came to tell me, that she would see me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I found a woman whom disgrace could not humble, whose insolence detection could not abate *, and who, instead of endeavouring to excuse herself, or to implore a pardon, talked in the style of one who had suffered wrongs, not given them, and pretended to demand conditions for herself; she complained, she raved against the king, made new demands, wrapped herself up in reserve, and affected the devotee. I was not a person on whom these arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride, nor soothed her resentment; I began with the greatest of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herself to the enemies of the state; I told her that she would have reason to think herself happy, if her punishment was confined to a permission to banish herself out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till she had submitted to be examined as a criminal, and asked the king's pardon for her disobedience.

* " She said, she gave herself
 " no concern about dying, but that,
 " on the contrary, she wished for
 " death; but, if the king should
 " put her to death, it would always
 " be said he had killed his wife,
 " for that she was his queen before
 " the other: upon the whole, she
 " only desired three things of his
 " majesty: a pardon for her father;
 " a rope for her brother,
 " and justice for herself." Journal
 " of the reign of Henry IV.
 " On searching her cabinets, added
 " the same author, and making
 " an inventory of all her papers,
 " many love letters (the implements
 " of her trade) were found
 " amongst them, some of which
 " were from Sigogne, which occasioned
 " his disgrace."

1604.

I proceeded in the next place, to her insolent behaviour towards the queen. I made her sensible, that to offend, as she had done, a princess, who was her queen and mistress *, by a thousand injurious reflexions, was to attack the king himself, and expose her own person to a severe punishment: I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herself to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and insolent behaviour; and especially her malignity in sowing discord between their majesties: and added, that she would be compelled to throw herself at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults she had committed against her.

Nor did I spare her upon her pretended devotion to which she had recourse, not scrupling, at the same time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the state. I told her plainly, that this shew of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her see that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her usual excuse, that they existed only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new subject of shame and confusion for her with regard to this prince, whom she so grossly abused. I shewed her what she would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and assured her, that his majesty would never have opposed her retreat into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any signs of true devotion.

I gave her, at length, all sorts of good counsels, which indeed she did not desire, nor was disposed to follow. She ought, at least, to have appeared willing to do so; but she contented herself with answering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with

* "She sometimes said, that, if " to be in the place of that clumsy
" justice were done her, she ought " tradeswoman." Perseus.

1604. great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her what causes of complaint she had received that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was, that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying it.

Continuing still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty. She answered, that although she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to hers on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said, that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted, that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I had

I had never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the marchioness of Verneuil; but I could not help laying some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue * could be unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquility of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort then to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I went to his majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince? what persuasion did I not

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. I. p. 90. "The king asked, whether he should give Madam de Verneuil any thing to enable her to marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to have her, provided she had a hundred thousand crowns more than she then was worth. M. de Bellièvre said, Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match by that means: to which M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy matter to talk of

"a hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means to raise them, the chancellor, without taking notice of what he said, went on; Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my advice. The king repented afterwards he did not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miscarried through Henry IVth's fault rather than the duke of Sully's.

1604. great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her what causes of complaint she had received that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was, that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying it.

Continuing still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty. She answered, that although she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to hers on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said, that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted, that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I had

I had never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the marchioness of Verneuil; but I could not help laying some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue * could be unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquility of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort then to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I went to his majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince? what persuasion did I not

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. I. p. 90. "The king asked, whether he should give Madam de Verneuil any thing to enable her to marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to have her, provided she had a hundred thousand crowns more than she then was worth. M. de Bellièvre said, Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match by that means: to which M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy matter to talk of

"a hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means to raise them, the chancellor, without taking notice of what he said, went on; Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my advice. The king repented afterwards he did not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miscarried through Henry IVth's fault rather than the duke of Sully's.

1604. use? policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all; I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to re-kindle his anger, as they had already often produced that effect; the harsh epithets he had given the countess d'Entragues and her daughters; the intrigues so well known and so incontestable, that had given cause for them; the sum of money granted by his order, to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was no longer in the power of his mistress to bestow; the untimely birth of the infant by a storm, and other anecdotes of the same nature, capable of disgusting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a discourse so pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, so convincing: all my tenderness for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the shame I saw ready to overwhelm him; I entreated, I implored, every power of persuasion I exerted; I was not discouraged by an ineffectual attempt: again I returned to the charge; my zeal became persecution: and sometimes carried me out of myself, as it did in a conversation we had in the garden, belonging to the conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we spoke so loud, as to be heard by Bastien and Brunault.

Nothing was ever more singular or incomprehensible; a prince, whose great qualities might serve as a model for other monarchs to form themselves upon, reduces us to the necessity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confessing that it dishonours the other. I take, without hesitation, this last path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myself under an obligation to do it; and should think I had laboured but by halves for the instruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into shade. I therefore open to them the recesses of that heart, where
so

so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices, when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason, and resolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters, when he secretly vowed never to break them.

It was but too true, that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals, whom he was too weak to despise, and too timid to punish. *Aut Cesar, aut nihil*, says he in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances! He was convinced that the marchioness of Verneuil had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

One of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shewn to her, expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less surprise. It must be therefore,

1604. therefore, that these lovers, amidst the wildest transports of their anger, could not hinder themselves from still depending a little upon the latent tenderness of each other; and that their tenderness still subsisted without their perceiving it themselves: or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debase himself, had a long time before furnished his mistress with arms against him, which he would not oblige her to make use of, by driving her to extremities: or lastly, and this is the least unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that some private transactions had passed between them, which Henry, through regret or shame, could not resolve to impart to me, or to any one whatever.

I have thrown together all that relates to the present subject, although part of the facts, as has been seen, such as the seizing of the count d'Auvergne, and the process carried on against his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration so frequently *. I shall resume it at the

* I here subjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conspiracy of the count of Auvergne. This writer asserts, *Mem. second. vol. I. p. 297*, that one object of this conspiracy was to seize the king's person, by laying an ambushcade for him, and then putting him to death; and that d'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make use of the passion he had discovered the king to have newly conceived for his second daughter, who is represented as much handsomer than her sister, to draw him into the snare. He therefore sent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no question but the king would expose himself to any danger to come to see her at Maleherbes, which place is but three leagues distant from that pa-

lace: and truly, Henry immediately sent message after message to mademoiselle d'Entragues, by some of his courtiers disguised in the habit of peasants. Her answer to which was, that she was so closely watched, that there was not the least probability of her being able to see the king. At last he could not forbear going there in person, accompanied by marechal Bassompierre; and not daring to go into the house for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to content himself with speaking to her at the window of a lower room: he wrote to her every day, and sent her verses of gallantry, which he got the best poets of the court to compose for him. At last they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty,

beginning

beginning of the following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating.

and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the marchioness of Verneuil; and, if we may believe Siri, often was exposed to the same dangers with her: one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hand of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entragues's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But, as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any Memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes, with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry the IVth's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa: and there are still some original pieces of poetry in being which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses:

*Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
Que vous ne puissiez effacer, &c.*

What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face;
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the handwriting of Henry IV. that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince often was pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIX.

1604. **T**HE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he set apart for the execution of his designs, fixed upon the Bastile, where he ordered chests to be made, and all other necessary conveniences : for this article he was obliged to publish a regulation that might bring this new disposition of money into method, to prevent the confusion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts : the regulation was thus.

No money was to be carried to the Bastile but that which remained clear in the king's hands ; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being first taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treasurer in office, in the presence of the superintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne ; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treasurer had likewise a third ; when his year of office was over he received a certificate, signed by me and Vienne, of the sums

that had been put in the king's chests during his administration; this he put into the hands of his successor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to shew as his discharge. The new treasurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inspecting the money contained in the treasury; upon this acquittance, the treasurer was authorised to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to pass without further examination.

1604.

His majesty was of opinion, that he ought early to publish his intentions and justify his conduct, both with respect to that accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were still to be made in the finances. This was done in a council extraordinarily assembled for this purpose. The chancellor received from the king, and published, the list of those who were to compose the council, consisting of deputies of the sovereign courts of Paris, named by his majesty, the principal members of his council, and the chief administrators of justice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great closet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all assembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole assembly to be seated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a discourse of which this is the substance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to such a state, that the annual income was scarce sufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was necessary therefore to improve the state of affairs, not only by enquiries and prosecutions, which had already so far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewise to form new funds, that if there should either happen a war of consequence, or a troublesome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs sink into their former confusion,

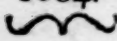
1604. fusion, to support the expences which could not otherways be raised for this purpose; that the best use was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means necessary to this, which however should be practised, without doing any mischief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the state on several pretences, the reimbursement of offices, and the resumption of crown-lands, that had been given away.

His majesty was resolved to begin by examining the several grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: upon this head he let fall an expression to prepare their minds for the just severity of this procedure, by saying, that in the first place he should endeavour to make a rigorous discrimination between those that had really paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were now receiving back from the king's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the œconomy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes, which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time, should lay before him the result of their deliberation. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

Assemblies of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they serve,

serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection; the proposal of the king, though in itself unquestionably just and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, and multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove it to be just, that the designs of a good and wise king must not be at all times, and in every situation, the same with those of the people. The considerations which regulate popular opinions are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or almost never, reach farther than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction, without any care about the future.

This corruption arises from the desire of present happiness, a desire natural to man; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, tho' they have more knowledge, have the same passions with the vulgar. The case is otherwise with a wise and good king, or with a minister who represents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the subjects, but he always knows, that by catching too soon at happiness it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the vexations merely ideal

1604.  ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquillity; all regard to short lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than of those who live in his own time; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shewn to his own time, at the expence of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of some of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

The scheme, which Henry had formed for the interest of his kingdom, making it necessary that he should take all measures to encrease his revenues, instead of making all those defalcations about which some who pretended great zeal for his service were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to discover some sources of large profit which would very little burthen the people; of these I put nine into a memorial which I presented to his majesty, as follows.

1. The contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of several employments which they represented as necessary, misapplied the money which they had received, and made those sums pass in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was represented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of several millions. Of these accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact revival, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able so completely to conceal themselves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies, but that I should be able to trace them.

2. The

2. The clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, accused Castille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been presented to me, was accompanied with an account of the articles of accusation so positively and clearly stated, that nothing remained but that the king should reclaim the immense sum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled. 1604.

3. All the managers of the finances, and the people of business, particularly the treasurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be associated with Castille, by the erection of a chamber of justice; which must produce great advantages, if private intrigues and secret artifices could be kept out, by which these enquiries are often defeated.

4. The abuses in the alienation of the king's lands were so gross, that many of those who had them in their hands held them by mere usurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price so scandalously low, that they were repaid by the income of the very first year at six *per cent.* which was the interest then current. Of this I made his majesty fully sensible, who would not suffer these alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to consent to the resumption of all those possessions, or to some measures for obliging the possessors to pay the true price.

5. In the other offices and employments there was the same corruption to be removed by the same means; the persons in possession were to be obliged to supply the deficiencies of their first payment in proportion to their salaries, or to give back their employments for the same sum for which they had purchased them.

6. The debts due to the Swiss Cantons were, by a bad regulation, so far from being lessened, that they had been always encreasing. I had already made such an alteration in that part of our affairs,

1604.

that by the seasonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the same method with the rest, the public was soon cleared of that debt.

7. As it was easy for the king to recover the possession of the crown lands that were alienated, so it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expences for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes, of drawbacks, and improvements, were risen, by the connivance of the treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious heighth, that according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the king. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten *per cent*.

8. The profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues that had been alienated; some of the contractors had offered me to purchase them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown clear of all debts and incumbrance. The king, instead of accepting their proposal, had nothing to do but to get himself the money which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. France had in her hand the infallible means of drawing to herself all the commerce of the Ocean
and

and Mediterranean, and to see them, without any great expence, in the middle of her provinces: all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuse*; and the first glance of this project presents us with more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone, and which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I entered into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The prince, who certainly expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, raised at first a

* Before the duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Lewis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas: the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the same time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impossible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the same province, more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by em-

ploying the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expence. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, at the same time will be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

It is necessary there should be some principal center for the riches of a nation; but nevertheless other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic, what the heart is in the human body, constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it, even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle, of only supplying the country people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

1604.

thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his majesty was wanting, and what proposal would have suited his inclination: an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands: if I would have shewn him a scheme which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers; besides sixty millions more, by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value. But I easily brought the king to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burthenfome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigences; and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, yet if they were skilfully managed and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

The king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shewn, by good extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he shewed the highest impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To succeed in this, I thought it necessary that a new council or office should be erected: to this an opposition was made by the chamber

chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to 1604.
 their arguments. This council was composed of
 Chateau-neuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the presi-
 dents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of
 Rebours; a treasurer, and a register, who were Le-
 Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it,
 and present at it as often as my other business would
 give me leave; but whether I was there or not
 every thing went forward according to a scheme
 which I had drawn as the rule * of their operations.
 All our proceedings would be tedious to relate; it
 is sufficient to say, that I had made a clear and
 exact distinction between the grants made at different
 times and from different funds; some had been
 bought for the payment of the third part of their
 price in ready money, some for half, others for the
 whole sum; there were some that had cost their
 possessors very little, some were obtained by mere
 fraud, and others honestly procured; these last were
 never touched otherwise than to settle them more
 securely according to their original condition; as
 for the rest, according to the degree of fraud and
 injustice with which they had been procured, we
 either struck them entirely off, or ordered the full
 purchase to be paid; there were some, of which the
 possessors were obliged to pay back the arrears,
 which they had so unjustly got into their possession;
 and others, who for having embezzled the arrears
 were obliged to deduct them from the principal,
 which it was so much easier to pay off. The public
 gained another advantage, by suppressing a number
 of receivers of the revenue, who were an useless
 burden upon it, and of whom I left only one re-
 maining.

The enquiry which I had schemed out against
 monopolizers and officers of the revenue was after-
 wards carried on by the erection of a chamber of
 justice; but as the corrupt management of solicitation

* A more particular detail is the revenue may there have an op-
 given of these regulations in the portunity of consulting them.
 old Memoirs; those concerned in

1604.



and intercession was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common consequence, the chief criminals escaped, and those who were less considerable suffered all the severity of the law : some remedy was found for this abuse, at least in the time immediately following my enquiry ; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he should be immediately punished. Exact information was given of those that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all these strokes of art the name that they deserved ; and those unlawful gains which had so long impoverished France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine ; and honesty began to shew her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before.

The treasurers of France having this year presented their accounts full of blanks for nonpayment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much suspected of dishonesty, than to assign them these pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whose place was given to Montauban, and some other strokes of the same kind, taught the chief of these men of business to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree passed against one Le-Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thousand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles Du-Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief persons interested in the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I complained to the king of an invasion made by the parliament of Toulouse on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treasurers of the province, because it threatened the ruin of the foreign customs, the farmers of which demanded a

very considerable abatement : it likewise reduced both the galleys and the garrisons into difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom. 1604.

The four hundred thousand livres raised by augmenting the taille, into which half of the tax of a penny in the shilling had been changed, continued still to be paid ; as likewise the other half, laid upon merchandises : though the edict by which these taxes were established was settled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made representations to the king upon this account : they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily issued by the council, and which they represented as more dangerous to the public, than the taille itself. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were just, and had myself remonstrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this subject, one to the council, in which he shewed them, that the present state of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the present year ; and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I gave him what assistance was in my power, as grand master of the ordnance. The arsenal was at that time stored with an hundred pieces of cannon ; there were in the galleries, small arms for fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse ; and in the Temple and at the Bastile, were two millions of pounds of powder, and a hundred thousand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the Arsenal, he seemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies that threatened him : but I shewed him the formidable store, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then demanded a list of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a summary account of his ready money,

1604. money, and what could be added to it, in the years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my secretaries write these minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

The regulation and discipline of the soldiers was an article of government most necessary to be considered in order to its reformation. It is hard to conceive, that, in a nation which from its first establishment has been engaged in war, and has indeed pursued no other trade than that of arms, no care should have been hitherto taken to form and methodise them. Whatever related to the soldiery of France, was offensive and disgusting. The foot soldiers were enlisted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel, their pay was unjustly withheld, they heard of nothing but a prison, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet. This treatment drove them into all methods of desertion, which was prevented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men besieged: the officers themselves being ill paid, had some kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often say, and he spoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well served, till the troops were put into another state.

The first point, on which this new regulation must depend, was exactness of payments, which the king began by settling it so, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other use. This regulation was followed by another equally just and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a provision made for the relief of soldiers, when, by wounds or sickness contracted in the service, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed so, that, in this state of misery, they wanted nothing, either for their maintenance or their cure *.

* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July 1605 (for possibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after) his majesty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers disabled in his service, the

The liberty with which I have expressed myself 1604. concerning the king's faults gives me a right to praise him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of œconomy, and therefore practised them without any constraint: particular details of business were to him merely an amusement. Princes who engage personally in the administration of government, fall commonly into one of these two inconveniences; either they are incapable of submitting to moderate views, or they cannot raise them to any height. The mind of Henry adapted itself with the same ease to things small or great, of which his letters give sufficient evidence, and a way that was then used of applying to him immediately, sometimes for mere trifles, shew it still more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Gisors, who had formerly furnished the household with wine. His majesty sent me to pay him, and to recompence him for the delay; "My conscience," says he, obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of these kind of stories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I presented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me.

royal house of christian charity, built with the money arising from the surplus of the accounts of hospitals, alms-houses, and spitals for lepers, &c. and from the pensions of lay-monks, and the oblates *: the superintendence of it belonged to the high constable of France. This establishment has since been changed, or rather totally abolished, by what Lewis the great substituted in its stead, in building and endowing the royal hospital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone sufficient to immortalize his

memory. This house of christian charity was before this only an hospital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed soldiers; it stood in the suburbs of Saint Marcellus, in the street called rue de l'Ourfine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV, also caused the hospital of Saint Lewis to be built; for this purpose, he granted to the Hôtel Dieu, ten sous on every minot † of salt, within the district of Paris, during fifteen years, and five sous for ever.

* Lay-monks or oblates, were soldiers disabled in the king's service, who had the maintenance of a monk assigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their service.

† A minot of salt contains four French bushels, and is something less than an English bushel.

1604.

As to those other ideas that had a higher object, either of interest, of glory, or public happiness, the king never lost sight of them, either in his vexations or his pleasures : that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many enquiries ; and concluded at last, that I should give him an enumeration of all those things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be destroyed or sullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of presenting him a sketch, written with such simplicity, and with such few useless ornaments of style, that he might at once glance it over : it contained an enumeration, without proof or exposition, of those abuses which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may serve as a compendium of the principles, which they have seen, and must expect to see, diffused through these Memoirs.

The causes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are exorbitant subsidies, monopolies, chiefly those relating to corn ; neglect of merchandise, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories ; the great number of public employments, the fees, and excessive authority of men in office ; the cost, the delay, and the injustice of tribunals ; idleness, luxury, and all that is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confusion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjust and imprudent wars, the despotic power of sovereigns, their blind adherence to particular persons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or professions ; the greediness of ministers and favourites, the degradations of persons of quality ; contempt and neglect of men of letters ; the connivance at bad customs, and infraction of good laws ; an obstinate adherence to customs, either mischievous or indifferent ; and the multiplicity of edicts and useless regulations.

If I was to chuse among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furnished examples,

ples, I should propose Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the august, and Charles * the sage; and I should wish that the eye might never fall so low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I was to establish a single principle of government, it should be this, *That good laws and good manners produce each other.* But such is our unhappiness, that we never perceive this valuable connexion, till corruptions and abuses have been carried together to the highest points; so that among men, the principle of good arises always from the extremity of evil.

The regulations, for the augmentation and securing of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the first importance to the public, he laid out the greatest part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire † being rati-

* It would perhaps have been still better, to have also rejected the three first of these, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, we shall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on those of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down discover a mixture of both these principles. I have observed before, what correctives were necessary to modify the too austere temper of the duke of Sully: I shall here take the same liberty with the too warlike disposition of Henry IV. A military spirit is undoubtedly necessary to defend a state; it ought therefore to be nourished with the utmost care; but it should notwithstanding be kept in the same state we do a mastiff, for the defence of our house, that is, chained up, and very seldom indulged with the liberty of pursuing its own course, lest it should turn upon its masters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almost the same effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle,

that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the same end can be obtained by them.

† This is the canal of Briare, which from that little town runs to Montargis, about ten leagues distant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret: but this part of the design was left unexecuted, and the canal itself was neglected, after more than three hundred thousand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of those who envied M. de Rosny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the ministry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has since been resumed, and at length finished. M. De Thou bestows great commendation on M. de Sully, for being the inventor of this design, b. cxxxii. A further proof of this may be drawn from the silver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the sluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The count of Buron, one of the parties interested in this canal, sent the copied,

1604.

fied, I removed myself to those parts, that there might be no mistake in the preparations that were previous to the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I spent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me as soon almost as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated several affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

Of these affairs, the most important and most perplexing, was an unforeseen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The king of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty *per cent.* upon all French goods imported to Spain or Flanders; as likewise upon all goods exported from these two states into France; a heavy imposition, which was at once an insult upon our nation, and tended to revolt the minds of his own subjects. The king returned it by expressly prohibiting all commerce with the subjects of Spain, and the arch-dutchies, and by a duty still larger upon all the Spanish goods landed at Calais: but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our provisions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithstanding the new monopoly, still found there were such great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the scarcity of them in Spain, that they exposed themselves, for those profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of sedition raised in the city of Marseille, of which the president Du-Vair sent immediate notice to the court. The mer-

per ones to the present duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the silver ones on account of their value. One of these copper medals is charged with the duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inscription: '1607. Maximilian de

'Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV. by the hands of Messire Peter 'Ozon, at this time mayor and 'governor of Montargis-le-Franc.' The duke of Sully has also lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

chants of this city lost all patience, when they found themselves obliged to sit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their provisions, and deprived them of their usual profits. This permission, which was granted by his majesty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged. 1604.

The English were pleased at this new incident; and so far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they secretly strove to make it worse, because they carried on the same trade fraudulently, which the Italians were authorised to do. It was discovered, that eight or nine English vessels had taken in their loadings of grain at Olone, and went from thence to Saint Sebastian, to disembark them: this, doubtless, was the resource the Spaniards depended upon, otherways their prohibition would have fallen heavy upon themselves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himself would happen: and it was the hope, that Spain would suffer more from it than we, joined to his solicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be said his enemies could dispose of its commerce, which made him still require a strict observation of the prohibition he had published. He commanded me to send a person of probity and understanding, to visit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of these two rivers, to see that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed; and he was empowered to punish all that should be found to have acted contrary to it; those being generally the places where such illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commission to La-Font, who executed it so well, that his majesty kept him afterwards about his own person.

Henry, at the same time, ordered his ambassador in England, to complain to king James, of the practices of his subjects; and to give him to understand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himself the trade we carried on

1604.

on with that kingdom, he would take such measures that France should not suffer alone, but that England should lose more by it than her. This was tacitly to desire, that he would offer his mediation to compose the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable, that the king of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of such an accession to the trade of his kingdom, as to make peace with Spain; and he was now sensible, though too late, of the injury he had done himself, and that the arguments his council had made use of were all false: this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his majesty, to attend this affair with the utmost assiduity; and I likewise was ordered to confer about it with the constable, the chancellor, the commandeur de Chastes, and vice-admiral De-Vic.

We found many difficulties to struggle with on both sides. Trade must necessarily suffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great shame must reflect upon the crown. Henry could not resolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, seemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condescended to take any step that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his most Christian majesty was, that, although he suffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abused this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almost that I considered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I represented to his majesty, that the damage we must inevitably sustain, made it necessary that he should use no more severity with the one than the other.

1604.

The king of England did not refuse his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promises both parties should make on this occasion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns; and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The pope likewise began to interest himself greatly in the dispute, being apprehensive that a more dangerous rupture might ensue between France and Spain. He wrote to cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a short time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

The count of Beaumont, who still continued to be our ambassador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late dispute concerning our trade, in the presence of the counts de Villa-mediana and d'Aremberg, the one ambassador from the king of Spain, the other from the archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of an agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the president Richardot, and Lewis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the constable of Castile, who was likewise at London: but his sudden departure, together with some other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding so far as to get the preliminary of this agreement signed. The constable of Castile passed through Paris, and had an interview there with cardinal Bufalo, who pressed him so earnestly, and upon so many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promise from him that it should be referred to the examination of some commissioners, whom he named for the king his master: the council of France appointed some on their side. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a conclusion, which, by being submitted to so many arbitrators, was protracted to an insufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltasar Stuniga, the Spanish

1604.

Spanish ambassador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a senator of Milan, who were interested in a cause for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him; this done, that the business might on the side of the other party be wholly consigned to one person, he desired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct: from that time, the affair was thought to be in great forwardness. I went to visit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majesty was busied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured: these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

The substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only between cardinal Bufalo and myself, was, that the edict of thirty *per cent.* and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms; many other articles were added, that tended to remove these grievances.

It was specified, that his most Christian majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the dominion of that crown, by lending vessels, waggons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register: this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherways should be liable to confisca-

confiscation; but they were not upon a bare suspicion of fraud to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French vessels, should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low Countries, but those that should be specified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty *per cent.* which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magistrate of the place where they disembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the king of France should order all Spanish goods to be seized, which were brought by his subjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which should be given to the informer, the thirty *per cent.* deducted: that the French magistrate, who should be convicted of having given false certificates of discharge, should be prosecuted and punished; and that the two kings should mutually engage to leave the places of passage free. The article of the imposts, which ever since the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already settled in the presence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was stipulated, that forty days after the date of this treaty, it should be published in the respective states on the same day: it was dated the 12th of October, and signed at first only by cardinal Bufalo and me*.

* See the treaty itself in the *Chronologie Septennaire*. The king gives the marquis de Rosny no other titles in it but that of great master and captain-general of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did

not sign it, but only messieurs de Rosny and de Sillery; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the king of Spain; and the senator Rovidius Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

1604.

Although I was very sure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been first consulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehensive of the cavils of Sillery and the other commissioners, from whom the cognisance of this affair had been taken: the expedient I made use of therefore was, to send Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil request that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, answered quick, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the person who had transacted it alone might also conclude it alone. This answer would not satisfy me; I sent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me necessary that the treaty should be signed by him and the other commissioners first named, and that I entreated he would come to my house and sign it; but that if he refused, I could not dispense with myself from sending the treaty to his majesty by Arnaud; letting him know at the same time, that the difficulty he made in signing it would delay the conclusion for two days: and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that if any accident should happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he should be answerable for it, went to cardinal Bufalo's house and signed the treaty, as did also Villeroi.

The king, when he received a copy of these articles, confirmed by these free signatures, bestowed great praises on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a present of a cross of diamonds; he recommended him to the Pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the distinction of eating at his table. His majesty would not publish the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he secretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently desired.

About this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which
France

1604.


France could not avoid interesting herself greatly, after what had passed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is necessary to represent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which those of England have in this respect an unavoidable connection.

The siege of Ostend continued still to be carried on with the same obstinacy by the Spaniards: in the mean time, the prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the isle of Cadfan, which he made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the arch-duke, who beheld this attempt with grief, was gone to assemble fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well intrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments: the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

The Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned after this success of the prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which lasted so long. De-Vic informed his majesty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that he had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success: however, it is certain, that Ostend was reduced to the last extre-

1604. mity; the Spaniards boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they should still have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when *Perfi le riche*, captain of the regiment of Nereftan, who came lately from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect Sluys surrendered before Ostend, for the Flemish defended themselves with a courage that has few examples: they were seconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thousand and twelve hundred men, all fresh, which had been just sent them by the States, under the conduct of general Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a necessity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, pressed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

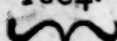
This was a new and surprising spectacle for all Europe, that a little state, which forms but a scarce perceptible point in the map, should dare to raise her head from the midst of her marshes, and brave, during so long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war cost the States twenty thousand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known; they hardly any longer knew to whom they should have recourse, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The duke of Bouillon having promised them a sum of money, they sent captain Sarroques to receive it; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his masters to the expence of four or five thousand florins, which their compliments to the princefs of Orange cost them.

Henry was their usual resource: sometimes they requested an hundred thousand crowns; at other times,

times, two hundred thousand weight of powder, for they consumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majesty ordered to reside in those cantons, to give him an account of all that passed, was of great use to them in supporting their solicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expressed great fondness for Buzenval, and kept him with them as it were by force when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not soothe, and endeavour to engage in their interests? They would have made me a very considerable present, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their design, assured them I would not accept of it: and they contented themselves with offering me, by Aërsens, some curious pieces of shell-work, and some coach-horses of their country for my wife: Henry shewed a readiness to oblige them, which could not proceed from self-interested motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They must be ungrateful in the highest degree, if they ever abandon a crown to which they owe such great obligations *. Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requests in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not resolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raised in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out against him.

It is easy to judge what the present war must have cost Spain, which was in effect the assailant, by what I have just related of the United Provinces, who kept themselves merely upon the defensive, and did not stir from their own doors; and of the re-

* Grotius speaks of it almost of the troubles in the Netherlands, in the same words, in his book, intitled, *The annals and history*

1604.  sentment that Spain preserved against us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the losses they sustained by a war that had almost drained their treasury, which, however, they concealed with the utmost care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of these threats, and he acted wisely; the council by this impotent anger, shewed its own weakness; and it was well known in France, that his catholic majesty's revenues were exhausted.

Ostend * was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the consolation to see, that for five or six hundred thousand crowns, which this expedition had cost him every year since it first began, he had considerably advanced the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

It might reasonably be expected, that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that she should lose Flanders entirely, if she did not find means to make some change in those dispositions in which I had left the king of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, she renewed her intrigues and solicitations to obtain at least a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if she could not bring his Britannic majesty over to her party. The Spaniards, at first, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers also were as high to procure a grant of part of those demands. Their first proposals were rejected without being examined; but these were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they should prevail upon the English to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing so much at heart; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, because Spain, foreseeing that there would

* See the surrender of Ostend Septen. Matthieu,  and other and Sluys, and the other actions of historians, an. 1604.
this campaign, in De Thou, the

be still a necessity of abating something in her demands, added a condition that destroyed its force, and required, that England should enter into a league offensive and defensive with her. The king of England's council having many strong reasons for rejecting this alliance, made no scruple to confess, that it was the interest of their crown to support Holland, instead of openly taking part with her enemies.

1604.

It was now absolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and foretold, that notwithstanding all these apparent obstacles they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, some time afterwards, returned to the charge, still lessening their demands according to their subtile maxims of policy, and commissioners were appointed on both sides; the disputes ran so high, that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a negotiation more peaceable; the English commissioners reduced the Spanish ones not only to express no resentment against France, but they were the first to say, that she ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with respect and consideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majesty whatever was contrary in the real design of this negotiation to the first, and to remove all his scruples.

To this battery they joined the assistance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of these papers, which was supposed to be written by an Englishman, because the power of the king of England was greatly exaggerated, who, says the author, can subsist independent of any other state, tho' none

1604. without him : as if the Spaniards were not capable of so high a flight of flattery to secure the success of their designs : in one of these papers, I say, it was maliciously insinuated, that this peace was desired with equal ardour by the three kings ; but that their most Christian and Britannic majesties secretly wished, at the same time, that it would give them a claim to the possession of Flanders.

However, they could come to no agreement during the space of a year ; and it was not till the 21st of June this year that the negotiation was likely to succeed ; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was so far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as soon as the constable of the castle arrived, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from his Catholic majesty, and furnished with full powers to conclude the peace : the same opinion prevailed in Paris ; and it was even believed there, that not only England but the United Provinces, had secretly made conditions of agreement with Spain ; and that the States, by the interposition and arbitration of his Britannic majesty, had put an end to the disputes on occasion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying thirty *per cent.* and others. But why, if this was so, did we not see the siege raised, and other hostilities cease on both sides ?

This report, however, was absolutely false, at least with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too soon, and even while the conferences were subsisting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majesty. This prince became weary at length of struggling so long with his inclinations ; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a solemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders
to

to reconcile the church party and the puritans; for 1604.
his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace those very persons that had most need of it, who were the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The English already began to abuse every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alledged, as usual, that the English ought not to concern themselves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coasts, they replied, that they had permission to do it from the king of Spain their sovereign. Nothing so irritated the Dutch as speeches of that nature; and if the inhabitants of Flushing had been suffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the English they had amongst them: but the fatal consequences of such a proceeding being represented to them, they restrained their rage.

The States had expected a quite different treatment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commissioners, his Britannic majesty insisted that they should be admitted, and their agent, the sieur Le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged, that at first he had good reason to be satisfied with the English commissioners: upon the Spaniards introducing the subject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they passionately desired should be put into their hands, the English told them, that they could do no otherwise than surrender these towns to the council of the United Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with some resentment, that the restitution of them ought to be made to those who had given them as hostages, the English counsellors only answered, that if the States refused to pay the money that was lent, they would make the same proposal to the Spaniards. They were likewise favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held

1604. held them a long time in dispute; the Spaniards insisted, that Holland should open to them the trade of the Flemish coast, and particularly that of Antwerp, which she had, as it were, locked up, by building several forts upon the Scheld, and among others that of Iffot: but the English soon cooled in these favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whose letters furnished me with great part of what I have related concerning these conferences, judged thus of the event, that the English knew well what would be the consequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced; but that great jealousy of us, and a little folly, had suggested all that had been done on this occasion.

Matters were in this state, when the king of England thought proper to inform his most Christian majesty, by his ambassador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the English ambassador presenting the memorial to the king at the same time. His Britannic majesty, in this memorial, persisted still in the strange opinion, that this treaty was not inconsistent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to persuade Beaumont to believe the same, and promised Henry that he would defer the conclusion of it till the disputes which then subsisted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commissioners, however, did not scruple to sign the * treaty between Spain and England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the constable of Castile to settle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The constable was applied to when he passed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obstacles which he raised on purpose, the concluding upon any thing

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace: the kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the states and princes of Chris-

tendom, who are all named, except the United Provinces alone: it is set out at large in the Septen. an. 1604. Matthieu, 650, &c.

with cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to interest himself in the affair. But what was still more surprising, these commissioners, without giving Beaumont any satisfaction on that head, had the assurance to demand the impost on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his majesty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of thirty *per cent.* was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the proposal, by making one of the same nature to them.

The constable of Castile passed through France again the latter end of September, in his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris just as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewise. He demanded permission, the next day, to pay his respects to the king, to whom he presented himself with an air and countenance full of satisfaction; he made him a studied compliment, which for that reason was perhaps the less sincere; taking for his subject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to persuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two most powerful monarchies of Christendom, a strict union between them was the necessary and infallible means of accomplishing every enterprize they should undertake in concert; he laid great stress upon the alliance which had at all times been between France and Castile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this association, which would give the same friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indissoluble; which was, he said, to be wholly free from all partiality; to divest themselves of all jealousy of authority, and pre-eminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretensions upon certain cantons and cities of Europe; he did not forget to insinuate to his majesty, that the protestants were enemies which policy required should be humbled: he concluded his speech with representing to the king, the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings

1604. kings must necessarily produce ; a marriage which seemed (he said) by the circumstances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully assured the king, that he had no authority from his master for what he had said on this subject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his sentiments on it ; because, though they were only overtures made by himself, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his majesty, he should with the greater confidence propose them afterwards to the king his master.

I was not present at this discourse, but the king came to the arsenal on purpose to give me an account of it. He stopped, after relating the Spaniard's proposals, telling me he desired to know what answer I should have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himself. I replied, with the same gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer satisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to consider of it, and prevent him from accusing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to please him. His majesty consented to it, smiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his custom when he was in good humour.

I went the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myself of my promise, and found the king walking upon the terras of the Capuchins ; I told him, that if he still remembered a sentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, " that they preferred works * to " faith," he would not be long at a loss to know what answer I would have made to their ambassador ; that after so many breaches of faith, so many perjuries and violations of truth, with which Spain had dishonoured herself in the sight of all Europe,

* In allusion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is censured by the catholic church.

the constable of Castile's discourse would have seemed to me to be a new stratagem of the king of Spain, to break off the alliance between his majesty and the United Provinces, and the other protestant powers his friends, that he might find a still more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of so atrocious a nature that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, but for England, Holland, the French and foreign protestants, but for his incredible labours and incessant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the stile of a master: that the council of Madrid, accustomed to profane all that is most sacred in religion, abused the name of marriage, which had nothing binding enough in it to restrain their lawless attempts. And here I made an observation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

It was not, I told him, a stroke of such wise policy as was generally believed, to marry the sons of France into families almost equal to their own, such as that of Spain *; for besides that there was no alliance, however close, but must yield to the hatred which ambition inspires against a rival, the advantage that was expected from these unions might be destroyed by the very cause which made it too considerable: but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at least, we might promise ourselves all the assistance they are in a condition to give: the honour of an alliance with the most illustrious house in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the support of its grandeur, and the increase of its glory. Spain †,

* By this stroke of politics, France nevertheless gained the crown of Spain to the house of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

† "The house of Austria, said Guy-Patin, has gained great inheritances, *per lanceam carnis*; that is, by alliances and marriages."

1604. by this practice, has found the secret of considerably augmenting her power, by means less rapid, indeed, but also less hazardous, than war.

I take this occasion to observe, that I am not of the common opinion with respect to the Salic law; that law so much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whose original is sufficiently demonstrated by the name it bears: as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin *. It

* As to the Salic law, the abbé du Bos speaks of it as follows, in his Critical history of the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290, 291. "It probably obtained its name, from its being already in force amongst the Salian Franks, when Clovis incorporated into their tribe all the tribes which acknowledged him as king, in the year 510, except the tribe of the Ripuarii. The most ancient digest we at present have of this law, is what was made by the order of king Clovis, and afterwards corrected by the orders of Childebert and Clotarius his children.—In the year 798, Charlemagne made a new digest of it, in which he added many new ordinances to it, &c." This writer farther asserts, *ibid.* 273. That the clauses which enact, "That the crown of France shall not descend from the lance to the distaff," is really contained in the 62d article of the Salic laws.

But another opinion has been maintained, and seems to be supported by reasons of still greater force, in opposition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne) in his excellent memoir on this subject, inserted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters, anno 1727. p. 490, & seq. it is thereby proved, that there is no one article in all the Salic code which excludes daughters from the suc-

cession to the crown; and that the 6th paragraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is said, "That males alone can enjoy the Salic lands; and that females can have no share in the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private persons; but that, besides this, there was a custom, existing from time immemorial, even amongst the Germans, that daughters could not succeed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c. —M. Foncemagne had before demonstrated, in another memoir (*ibid.* anno 1726. p. 464, & seq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary, but in the male line only, during the first race of our kings.

The sentiments of these two writers, though opposite in themselves, become united against the principle laid down in this part of these Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every respect insupportable. Besides its direct tendency to destroy the pre-eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in almost a perpetual series of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occasion in the choice of a successor to the crown; it would create a confusion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always observe a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe but the whole

has

has been generally considered as the surest foundation of the kingdom and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this subject, that the situation of France, and the other advantages she has received from nature, are of themselves sufficient causes for that pre-eminence she has over all the other states of Europe; and that the Salic law, so far from contributing to these advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by those which a well-directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heiress of France, should become our king, the first kings of this race would be considered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or English; but as there is not the least reason to fear that he would transfer the seat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would chuse to reside in, this first foreign prince, or king, would be soon a naturalized Frenchman; and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salic law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the distaff, has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itself; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion nor pretence for war.

Henry was much pleased with the answer I would have given to the Spanish constable; he assured me, that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that

is only an imaginary scheme of the compilers, since none of the duke of Sully's maxims are discoverable in it. On the actual existence of the Salic law, consult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above named.

he

1604. he might not give the Castilian any suspicion of his designs *.

These designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution; things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately: in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician: Spain, by seizing, as she had lately done, upon the fortresses of Porto-hercole, Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the Pope's eyes; and indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflexion. That Clement the eighth was of this opinion is sufficiently clear, from

* John De-Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the constable, says: "The king sent the duke of Montbazon, with a most honourable train of noblemen, to receive him at the gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the constable, the king came unawares, just as they were giving water to the constable to wash, saying, "I am come to sup with you." The constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him; but the king raised him up and said, "It is not your business to do the honours of this house, but to receive them, you are of the blood

"royal:" and truly, the king is related to the house of Velasques, holding the office of constable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the kings of Spain on those they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themselves.

This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the king, two years before, when he was going to Flanders. "He continued on his knees, says Matthieu, something longer than he expected, and thereupon said, the king received him like a king, and caressed him as a relation." Vol. II. b. v. p. 605. Siri, 317.

the

the steps that he was observed to take; he was just 1604.
 such a Pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion: he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition, by sending the prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and instructed in the roman-catholic religion.

The princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His majesty commanded me to treat the duke of Wirtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master; and though he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the elector palatine, on account of the duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring that he should recall his son from Sedan. With respect to the United-Provinces, though they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms against them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the assistance they had received from the English having been very inconsiderable. After the loss of Ostend and Sluys, the States took a little repose; but it was weariness, and their exhausted condition, that made them submit to this respite, which was to continue but a short time. Thus the means of a diversion was secured, to be used whenever France should make attempts upon Spain.

I have slightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Grisons *, which made noise enough this year, to give occasion for many historical memoirs that were composed on this subject. This difference I am now going to explain.

The Swiss Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Grisons, the thirteen

* See Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. of history very fully. *Mém. second.*
 and other historians, particularly vol. I. p. 369, & seq.
 Vittorio Siri, who treats this point

1604.



corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, consisting of fifty-four parishes, of which the bishop appointed by them is lord; Saint-Gal, Geneva, Neuf-chatel, Baden, and other cities imperial and not imperial, which submitted to the Swiss, on condition that their privileges should be preserved: these cities are comprehended in nine bailiwicks.

The Grisons, of whom we speak at present, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valteline, which is a valley or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and those on the other side of it; for though its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greatest, from the Tirol to the lake of Coma. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increased by the torrents it receives in its passage, is but little less than the Marne, when it discharges itself into the lake of Como; it contains about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and pasturage: it is bounded on the east by the earldom of Tirol, to which it is contiguous, but the passages are both narrow and difficult; on the south by Bresse and Bergame, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which separates it from those two cities, are so steep, and the ground so hard, that it is wholly inaccessible on that side, except by two passages, from Tiron into Bressan, and from Morben into Bergamasque; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Grisons, bounds it on the north. The disposition of this place is such, that there are no passages to enter Italy from those countries which lye to the north of it, but those that lead into this valley, which at the west ends in a plain in the dutchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Coma, between the Milaneze and the Valteline. This is the place we are about to speak of.

About

About six hundred paces from the lake of Coma, 1604. Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes, from the name of him who was appointed to command it, upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which separates the Milaneze from the Valteline, and which is already but too difficult to pass from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the shore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over against the first, but not near so large; and to close up this passage completely, deep trenches were dug in the space between the bottom of these mountains and the lake. The fortifications of these two castles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to suit the form of the rock; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

It was not likely that the Grisons would not take umbrage at such an enterprise; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of these people in building this new work, and to shew that they had no design upon any part that did not belong to them, caused some trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up; yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the states of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valteline; and till then, to put an obstacle in this place to the passage of those beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiss and Grisons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Grisons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their masters.

Spain had already given the Grisons some proofs of this last design. The protestant party had hitherto been most powerful in the three leagues, being established in the most considerable canton, and embraced by persons of the greatest riches and distinction

1604.

tion among them; these were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain: but the differences of religion had as yet given rise to no misunderstanding among these people, because they were sensible their strength consisted in being firmly united: the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by sending their usual emissaries, the jesuits and capuchins, into those cantons. These fathers, by persuasions, promises, and bribes, easily succeeded in their design of setting the two parties at variance with each other: and gave the catholics as great a disgust to the form of government established by their countrymen, as aversion to the religion they professed.

Their hatred began first to shew itself in the result of the debates in the assembly of catholics, which was held at Baden, and which for the first time was directly contrary to that of the protestants, who held a separate one at Arau at the same time. Some demanded, that those persons who had embezzled the money of the republic should be prosecuted, and arrears issued against them; others openly supported those persons: but the catholic party becoming at length the strongest, they proceeded to such extremities with the protestants, as to banish them entirely into some little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This is a thing which France hardly thought of; but she could not be indifferent to what passed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal interest in these people. The sieur Pascal had been long our ambassador to them; and the Grisons appeared so well satisfied with him, that they desired they might have just such another; and as while these good intentions continued, they had also requested that the ambassador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we sent De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who resided at Venice in the same quality, to act always in concert with each other.

The

1604.



The best and shortest method we could have taken, was to support the leagues, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at least to furnish them with the means of building one on their side, which would have rendered it useless. They had thought of this themselves; and it would not have been a new thing, if his majesty had given some money to these people: but indeed the Grisons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their interests; they were so far from expressing any gratitude to his majesty for the pensions he distributed amongst them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

The Venetians were alike discontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to De Vic; and it was highly probable, that the Swiss would serve them no more with their accustomed good-will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Uri, and Unterwald, would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

In opposition to all this, the liberty of the Grisons appeared a sort of point, to every interested party, which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hood-winking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in question, took care to depure a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of count Fuentes: I, by the means of Montmartin, sent letters from his majesty to De Vic, which, however, never hap-

1604.

pened to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the state of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the king; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambassadors, to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Casal, in conjunction with him, could not support his party from miscarrying. The result of the diet was, that the * leagues would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except the fortress of Fuentes was previously razed, except communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their antient situation. The alliance with France received at the same diet a new confirmation; nevertheless, a great distance of space and time was required to pass from such resolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many subterfuges to recur to, by way of amusing the Grisons. Mont-martin returned not thence, till he had maturely considered every point that administered matter in these debates, taking a draught at the same time, by my order, both of the fortress and the district round it. I have formed this article upon his representation and Memoirs.

A dispute of the same nature with this, but in which his majesty was immediately concerned, arose this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of some repairs which had a long time been necessary. This delay was occasioned by the particular situation of affairs in France, which left no time for the discussion of a question between the

* When two or more cantons unite in one common cause, it is called a league.

1604.

king of France and the Pope, without which these repairs could not be undertaken. The question was this; the Pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewise the proprietorship of this bridge, of the toll and passage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and consequently of all the privileges annexed to these passes*; therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided, to which of the two, his majesty or the Pope, it belonged to do it. The king being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

The law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhone to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the prince Dauphin, the duke of Savoy, the count of Provence, and the prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, whether the Pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the antient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nimes, and all the charters of the province to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the king of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhone, possessing solely as sovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc

* Cardinal D'Offat speaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the Pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June 1603.

1604.



has this claim most incontestably established, being an antient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong, the possibility that the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hinder them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhone, by the right of regale, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers of the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the last war concluded with the duke of Savoy, established it upon a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the Pope's interest in Avignon arose from this:

A fund of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who make a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves the brothers which served the hospital at the bridge of Avignon, because that hospital joins to the bridge: they were likewise invested with the rights which were to come to the king, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair. These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time these revenues and rights, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length this first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights; and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expence of the necessary repairs: they several times attempted to begin the work; but although his majesty's council did not
act

act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his majesty's claim was ascertained. 1604.

I caused a definitive arret to be issued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong solely to the king, by the regal rights of the demesne, and the patrimony of the crown. In consequence of this arret, his majesty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and measures to be taken to recover the first funds, that had been misapplied and lost: and thus was this affair ended, in which the duke of Savoy was almost as much concerned as the Pope.

His majesty also made an acquisition of the earldom of Saint-Paul, one of the appanages of the count of Soissons. This prince being plunged in debts, determined to sell this earldom to satisfy his creditors, who were very pressing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a son, which his wife had lately brought, he ought not to live any longer in a dissipation of his fortunes: he received, with his usual affectation of gravity and stoicism, the compliments his majesty sent him upon the birth of his son; and afterwards sent Guillouaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of Saint-Paul. Henry, in this acquisition, first considered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it passed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the count's proposal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a considerable sum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

His majesty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the count of Soissons, and desired him to apply to Caumartin and I, to whom he

1604: he intended to entrust the management of this purchase; and wrote to me also, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and used my utmost endeavours to serve the count of Soissons; but I found it necessary to give great attention to the form in which the purchase was to be made. The affair being protracted to some length, I set out on my journey to Poitou: Henry, in the mean time, listening only to his impatience, and being persuaded that there was no danger to be hazarded bringing the affair to a speedy conclusion, referred it to messieurs de Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maïsse, who settled all matters with the count of Soissons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the king acquainted me with what was done; and seeing me greatly astonished at his precipitation, enquired the cause, reproaching me at the same time with the little inclination I discovered for making so fine an acquisition to the crown, which had, from my ancestors, fallen into the possession of the count of Soissons: it was for this very reason that I knew more of the matter than any other person, and I excused myself in the following manner to his majesty.

From the time that this earldom had been possessed by the counts of its name, it had been the subject of many debates, whether it should be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois; that is to say, of France or Spain. This dispute being of the number of those which it is not easy to decide, it was agreed to in the last treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the question could be decided, the lords of Saint-Paul should be at liberty to hold it of either of those counties which they should prefer. The succeeding counts of Saint-Paul chose to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furnish a sufficient pretence for re-kindling the war, as soon as the king of France, the possessor of this fief,

fief, should declare, that he would hold it for the future of the count of Boulogne, who was himself, for he could not without a kind of dishonour do otherwise. It would have been a melancholy thing, to see the war re-kindled for a trifle of this nature; and shameful to avoid it, by submitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the first contract, and sign a second in the name of a third person, and his majesty was not to declare himself till he could do it without any injury to his dignity. 1604.

This affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long stay this year. He sent for the Dauphin and the rest of the children from Saint-Germain. It was his first design, that the Dauphin should not pass through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon some representations which I made him. The children of France, with madam de Monglat their governesses, passed through Paris in their way to Saint-Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

One of his majesty's natural sons, who was called Alexander, and had the title of Monsieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations*. He gave orders, during his stay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expences of this year were not lessened but increased, by the addition of those sums laid out on the buildings destined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in silence, but with deep regret. I remember only, that seeing at the same time a great number of religious orders† established in France by the Pope's

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the presence of the legat and ambassadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. hastily descended from his throne and made them for

him to the grand prior, promising that the prince should ratify them when he should be sixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry against the too great increase of religious orders, and the

commission,

1604. commission, I quoted to his majesty the examples of Charlemaign for the first, and the Romans for the second.

Mahomet, III. dying of the plague, Achmet his son, who succeeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appease the murmurs of the people against the bad government, by banishing his grandmother, who was the cause of it. Sinan Basha, the counsellor of this prince, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, instead of obeying this order, he fled. Persia, being then at war with this crown, took advantage of these disorders to seize certain towns. The sieur de Salignac was then our ambassador at the Porte.

excessive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our ministers of the greatest abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of these reasons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; since, if it be true that monks are useless to the state, it is equally incontestable, that religion would suffer by their suppression. "The man must therefore be either wicked or blind," says cardinal de Richelieu, whose evidence on this subject is less liable to suspicion than M. de Sully's, who does not see and acknowledge, that the religious orders

"are not only useful but even
"necessary; as, on the other hand,
"nothing but too indiscreet a zeal
"can prevent one from perceiving,
"that an excess of them is not
"only inconvenient; but may be
"even increased to such a degree
"as to become destructive. What
"is done for the service of the
"state is done for the service of
"God, who is the basis and foundation of it: to reform the religious houses already established, and to stop the too great increase of new foundations, are two things pleasing to God, who desires regularity and order in all things." Political Testament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XX.

THE process carried on in the parliament, ^{1605.}
against the counts of Auvergne and En-
tragues, and the marchioness of Verneuil,
terminated in an arret issued the beginning of this
year, by which the two counts were condemned to
lose their heads, and the marchioness to be shut up,
during the rest of her life, in a cloister. I received
the first news of it from the king, who sent for me
to acquaint me with the sentence; and, afterwards
drawing me aside to the balcony of the first gallery
in the Louvre, asked me what impression I thought
this treatment would make on the mind of his
mistress. I asked his majesty, in my turn, whether
in proposing this question, he wished that I should
tell him my sentiments freely. "Yes, yes, replied
"Henry, do not be apprehensive that I shall be
"offended; I have been long accustomed to your
"freedoms." I then told him, that he himself
could answer this question better than any other
person; for if he gave the marchioness reason to
believe that he was wholly cured of his passion,
and animated with a just indignation against her, he
would see her have recourse to submission, to prayers
and tears to move him; but if, on the contrary,
he

1605.

he suffered her to suspect that he had acted only under the impression of a mere love-quarrel, she would not recede from her former insolence of behaviour.

I afterwards frankly confessed to Henry, that whichsoever of these two parts should be taken by Madam de Verneuil, I was persuaded the consequence would be still the same, for many reasons, among which, his natural clemency and his consideration for the children he had by his mistress, did not seem to be the least. "I would have you visit her, said this prince to me; I want to know what she will say to you, and if she will not employ you as an intercessor for her to me." I entreated his majesty, with the utmost earnestness, to dispense with me both from the visit and the intercession: I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to lose entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithstanding I had always supported her interest against her rival, I had been represented as an artful incendiary, and the venal spy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that such insinuations had been given the queen more than a month since: I told the king so, and named three persons to him, who had been the authors of them, and represented to him, that there wanted only this step, which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of serving him with this princess, on occasions which he was sensible recurred but too frequently. Henry contested this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another those infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the strongest dislike; and if I still took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the conclusion of it from being as shameful for Henry, as I foresaw it was likely to be.

This prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taste; and here the gross servility of a court was fully displayed. As soon as it was perceived that

Henry

Henry could neither disengage himself from his mistress, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary slaves to the passions of the sovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this disposition: no one dared to contradict either the queen or the marchioness, and only feigned to do so, when the nature of their commission required it; they but half served his anger, that they might always have their justification ready for both sides. Sigogne had been sent to me, by his majesty, with a very severe order concerning the marchioness, conceived in the strongest terms: he did not scruple to suppress one half of it; and, what is indeed astonishing, Henry discovered that he did so, told me of it, and yet continued to make use of him. If this prince carried weakness to an extravagant length, his courtiers pushed their flattery still farther; it was never better known to what degree of ingenuity, and at the same time of fervility, meanness, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the marchioness of Verneuil; but it was matter of general surprize, to find that the lenity shewn her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which marechal Biron had suffered: the count d'Auvergne's sentence* was commuted into a perpetual imprisonment in the Bastile, where for once he had leisure to grow weary † of confinement; that of the lady's father, into a banishment to his own estates: and

* "The king changed this punishment, says Bassompierre, to an imprisonment for life, partly in consideration of Madam d'Angoulême, who most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, which is, that the late king Henry III. his predecessor, had, on his death-bed, recommended only the count of Auvergne, and M. Le Grand to his favour; and he would therefore not have it said,

that he put a man to death, who had been so affectionately recommended to him, by the person from whom he had received the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M. de Sully, nor Henry IV. himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age, when, in 1644, he took for his second wife made-

1605. as for her, she had a full pardon*, and even dictated the conditions herself.

The affair between the king and the marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between this prince and the queen, to whom this late instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate; it was the business of the night as well as the day, to compose these differences: no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm arose immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former state. At my return from the Limosin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before: what could be done, in an evil so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence? and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever instances they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house,

moiselle de Nargonne; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

* "The king, says Prefixe, "permitted the marchioness to retire to Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney-general's finding any evidence against her, by the

"king's order she was declared "guiltless of the crime whereof she "was accused. He also, says the "Mercure François, dispensed with "her personal attendance on the "parliament to get her letters of "pardon registred, which were allowed by the parliament on the "6th of September." See the particulars of this process in M. De Thou, an. 1605. Siri, ibid. p. 299, and other historians.

where

where I sent him to search for some papers. I act ^{1605.} upon the same plan at present with the public, to whom I do not communicate all these little quarrels, which they would find a needless repetition of disputes, reproaches, jealousies, and violent designs, of which the reader is, I believe, already sufficiently weary.

From the disposition the count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very easy under his confinement in the Bastile, nor d'Entragues relish the inactive life he was compelled to in spite of himself. It was discovered, six months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the secret of getting intelligence even in his prison, the means of escaping from the Bastile. It was a rope-maker who gave information of this design, and supported his evidence with so many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevot, searching the wood of Maleherbes, found the cords, pulleys, and other engines, with which the projected escape was to be effected; for which d'Entragues was afterwards arrested, and obliged to go through an examination at his own house. He alledged, that he was not obliged to answer the grand prevot; there was a necessity therefore for forcing him to it by a special commission, which his majesty sent for that purpose, from the province where he then was.

In the mean time, d'Entragues composed a kind of case, written and signed by his own hand, to justify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the specious manner in which he glossed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author: yet, with all his subtilty of reasoning, he could not clear himself of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Maleherbes. He defended himself much worse when, notwithstanding this paper, he found himself obliged to go through an

1605. examination: he maintained, with great obstinacy, that no bad intention could be proved against him, by the discovery of those cords and pullies. The grand prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occasion; he took care to keep all the domestics of d'Entragues separate, that they might have no opportunity to consult either with their master, or with one another. But notwithstanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure against the criminal, something so favourable was perceived, that he had no great reason to be apprehensive, although the rope-maker furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused among others a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of every thing; and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Bastile, to confine the count of Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

I proceed now to the conclusion of another affair, which was begun and almost finished during the preceding year: this was the entire restoration of the jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the king, thought nothing was granted while the pillar*, raised upon the foundation of Chatel's house, still remained. His majesty, persecuted with prayers and entreaties

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite to the palace, there being only the street betwixt them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (before mentioned, in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions, conceived in terms the most injurious to the jesuits. We do not think it ne-

cessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the Memoirs of the league, vol. VI. D'Aubigné vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 9033. where the French translation of them made at that time may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. De Thou's works, and the Mercure François, which may also be consulted touching the demolition of this pyramid, anno 1605, agree with M. de Sully, that it be-

1605.

upon this article, consented at last that it should be referred to his council. I thought, and several others were of the same opinion, that the society had no reason to complain of ill treatment, if the council came to no other resolution about it, than to erase the inscription upon this pillar, which was indeed too severe: but they knew so well how to gain over the greatest part of those who composed the council to their side, that they obtained an arret such as they desired.

I cannot admit, that my conduct, on this occasion, could merit the whole weight of the jesuits indignation: however, my ruin appeared to these fathers, and to the three especially who played the greatest game at the court, to be of such consequence to religion, the common cause, and their own particular interests, that it was resolved to effect it if possible. With the three jesuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court associated themselves, whom I shall name no more. All that was now necessary, was to recall to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name indeed, but not the spirit nor the policy, was banished the court: they found no difficulty to increase their party considerably, in a very short time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whose soft and effeminate lives it was owned I had censured with more imprudence than injustice. The jesuits, by making themselves useful to their associates, drew great advantages from them; so that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very considerable revenues.

came a kind of justice, to deface these inscriptions, when the jesuits were restored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they also observe, that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noon-day, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that pur-

pose by the king, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order for it," says Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683, "was directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The most valuable of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottoes of Saint-Germain."

1605.

They did not, however, succeed every where with equal facility: the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their services very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourse to letters from his majesty: the fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to ask them of the king, in whom so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they would, at last, endanger the royal authority: he brought Poitiers for an example, where, notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, yet they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a settlement in that city, though, at the same time, it had solicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his majesty, as their enemies of Poitiers were.

The king had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes valued himself, which enabled him to discover by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenance, of those who spoke to him, all that passed in their hearts*. He answered the father, that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation, than some reports that had been made him; for that having spoke to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my assistance. "Ah! sire, replied the father, God

* Matthieu has observed the "of a man's actions and words, same thing of Henry IV. "He "from his look and manner." "could form a judgment, says he, Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

"keep

“ keep me from offending in any manner those
“ you love, and by whom you think yourself so
“ faithfully served; I will love them and serve
“ them myself: but if your majesty has any incli-
“ nation to be convinced of the truth by incon-
“ testible proofs, nothing is more easy than to
“ produce such as shall leave no doubt of the cer-
“ tainty of what I have had the honour to tell you.”

1605.

The king asked, with still greater earnestness, if he was sure he could prove what he had advanced? The father again confirmed it. “ Well,” said Henry, leaving him, “ I will consider of this matter.” And he sent for me that instant.

As soon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the orangerie, where, as we walked, he asked me, as if without any design, how the affair went on at Poitiers, concerning the Jesuits founding a college there. I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having resolved not to concern myself with them, for those considerations I had mentioned to his majesty. “ Think well what you say, replied
“ this prince, for they would persuade me that it
“ is you alone who prevent their establishment in
“ that city.” I assured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly nor indirectly, opposed their settling there, nor even expressed the least dislike to it. “ Well, said the king, since it is so, take no notice of this matter to any one.” On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took father Cotton aside: “ Who has told you these idle tales of M. de
“ Rosny? said he; they are absolutely false, as
“ I indeed suspected they were.” “ They will not
“ be found so,” replied the father; and for a proof of his assertion, told him that I had written several letters to the bishop of Poitiers, the treasurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing; expressly ordering them to oppose the settling of the Jesuits there. He added, that he had seen these letters himself; and that

1605. they were in the hands of a man of strict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you shew me these letters?" said the king. "Yes, sire, replied the Jesuit, whenever your majesty pleases." The king, who till now had suspended his belief, could not for this once hinder himself from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you to-morrow, said he to the father, and give you all the necessary orders upon this affair."

I came the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the king having sent me orders to attend him very early: he talked to me of the usual dispatches and the present affairs; then taking me again into the orangerie, I guessed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to say to me. "You know, said he, how much I love you, but you likewise know how much I love truth and hate all insincerity; you have used it with me; and although I never conceal any of my secrets from you, you have dissembled with me, in the answer you gave me to the question I asked you concerning the Jesuits. I am not offended at your conduct in that affair; as they never discovered any great friendship for you, it could not therefore be expected that you should become their advocate; but I am grieved to find that you are capable of dissimulation, you who profess to be a lover of truth and sincerity."

My astonishment was so great that I listened to the king in a profound silence; at length, recovering myself, "Sire, said I, this is one of the blackest impostures that ever was invented; the only favour I implore is, that you will insist upon a free explanation of this matter. If the Jesuits can prove their accusation to be true, inflict what punishment you please upon me, I shall never complain; but if it is found to be false, suffer me, sire, I most humbly implore you, to do my self public justice, that I may prevent such

“ such designs from being undertaken against me
 “ for the future ; for if there is a necessity for my
 “ being continually employed in defending my
 “ conduct, it will be no longer possible for me to
 “ attend to state affairs, the number and weight
 “ of which are already more than I can well bear.”
 “ What ! ~~interpreted~~ the king, have you not writ-
 “ ten any thing against the Jesuits, and prevented
 “ their founding a college at Poitiers ? think a
 “ little, and refresh your memory, that you may
 “ not engage to maintain any thing of which the
 “ contrary may be proved against you.” “ No,
 “ sire, I replied, I swear by my God and all my
 “ hopes of salvation, that what I say is true.”
 “ What malignant minds are these,” pursued the
 king, moved with a just indignation, “ which can
 “ never cease to envy virtue, or be weary of their
 “ fruitless attempts to ruin those who are faithful
 “ to my service ; leave this affair to me, continued
 “ he, I will search it to the bottom, and discover,
 “ if possible, both its source and its authors.”

He left me at these words to go and hear mass
 at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he
 should find father Cotton ; and, calling him, renewed
 the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for
 the letters which he said he had seen. “ Those let-
 “ ters, sire, said the father, are in the hands of a
 “ person of honour, and I will answer for the truth
 “ of what that person said, as well as that the let-
 “ ters he shewed me are genuine.” “ It is enough,
 “ returned the king, but go and bring them to me
 “ that I may see them ; I know his hand-writing
 “ and his signature as well as my own, having re-
 “ ceived more than two thousand letters from him
 “ in my life.” The father, perplexed by so unsea-
 sonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appeal-
 ing to his majesty’s knowledge of his veracity, and
 his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. “ I am willing
 “ to believe you, said this prince to him, but I would
 “ also have others believe you, by shewing them these

1605.

“ letters ; therefore do not fail, pursued he in a severe tone, to bring them to me, for I am determined to see them, that I may convict of malice and fraud those who are really guilty. Go, and return again immediately.”

There was no reply to be made to an order so positive ; the father retired with a low reverence ; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day : he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the absence of the person who was possessed of these letters. But there was a necessity to find another excuse for returning without them, which would cost the father much more. He told the king, that this nobleman's valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown those letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thousand new assurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The king, however, was not disposed to pay himself with that sort of coin : “ How !” said he, interrupting him, in a rage, “ have they burned these letters ? this is not to be believed.” And perceiving that father Cotton, who was sensible this affair would not rest as it was, equivocated in his answers, and seemed desirous that nothing more should be said of it, he quitted him in disgust. “ Rosny,” said he, approaching and taking me aside, “ your letters have been burnt.”

I came again to his majesty, to propose an expedient to him which I thought would entirely silence my accuser ; this was, to prevail upon the king to write to the bishop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city, to produce all the letters they had received from me ; and to write to them myself in the clearest manner upon the subject. I carried with me all the originals of these letters, in which his majesty found nothing to take offence at : he ordered his secretaries to write those letters, which were to be in his name, immediately ; and sent them to Poitiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters, the bishop and the magistrates

magistrates of the city sent the sieur de La-Parisiere 1605. to give his majesty all the informations he desired. La Parisiere, in the name of all his fellow-citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jesuits; and presented to the king all they had been able to collect.

Among a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to Saint-Marthe the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words:

“ With regard to the Jesuits college, I know not
“ why you make so many difficulties about that,
“ and persist in your solicitation for the royal college, of which you have written to me, since you
“ know, as La-Parisiere has often told you from
“ me, that you will never obtain of the king what is
“ necessary for it, and that he absolutely commands
“ the other should be allowed; it is your part therefore to act prudently, and do that with a good
“ grace, which in the end you will be obliged to
“ do whether willing or not: be it your care only,
“ upon receiving them to make such regulations as
“ may not leave it in their power to disturb the
“ tranquillity of the city or province; or make any
“ alteration in that union maintained at present between the two religions, that the king may be
“ served with duty and affection by all.”

The fourth letter, addressed to the bishop of Poitiers, is yet stronger: after some business and some compliments, which made up the first part of it, the king read these words: “ I always doubted, that the
“ Jesuits would not find people as kind and charitable in actions as in words: for my own part, if
“ the province is willing they should have a settlement in it, and that they will resolve to live
“ quietly there, without embittering the minds of
“ the

1605. " the people, or doing any thing to disturb that
 " harmony which at present subsists between the
 " two religions, I should be glad to see them in
 " my government, and will do them all the service
 " I can; but if they foment divisions there, or give
 " rise to any jealousies and distrusts, I had rather
 " they were any where else."

The king's courier, as he passed through Paris, which his majesty had just quitted and set out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular answer to the letter I had written to the bishop of Poitiers, of which these are the contents; That father Mouffy, the Jesuit, had brought him a letter from father Cotton, in which this father mentioned certain letters, supposed to be written by me to him, against the establishment and honour of the society, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majesty. The bishop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged father Mouffy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of such consequence so lightly; and acted still more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that father Mouffy had seen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authorize such an accusation, and undertook to undeceive father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had seen.

The bishop of Poitiers, who really believed the existence of this imaginary letter of accusation against me, which father Cotton had told him in his, had been sent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him service to discover the author of it, sent me word, that he would use his utmost endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was signed *Guillaume*; but that no person knew better than father Cotton himself; for although, as he was likewise informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the subscription of it: the bishop's letter

ter

ter is dated March 23, 1605. I shewed it to Sil-
lery, who set out for Panfou, from whence he went
to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his majesty :
but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him
at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of those
which had been sent me from Poitiers. I perceived
that this new proof of my sincerity had increased
his esteem for me.

1605.

The next day he sent for Richelieu and Pont-
Courlay, and asked them if they knew who it was
that had suggested to father Cotton the complaints
he had made against me ? and whether they had any
share in it ? They replied, that very far from en-
gaging themselves in the affair, they had earnestly
advised father Cotton never to mention to the king
those letters, whether supposititious, or written by
some impostor under a feigned name ; because that
if his majesty gave credit to my words in matters
wherein my religion might render me suspected, he
had much more reason to believe me, rather than
those idle reports received to my prejudice. The
king answered, that they must prevail upon me to
use the same moderation in this business as they had
advised father Cotton to, and prevent, said he, all
occasions of misunderstanding between my faithful
servants, as well in political as ecclesiastical affairs.
He permitted them, if they could not by any other
means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of
the blame upon himself.

I submitted with a good grace to this reconcilia-
tion : after the two agents had assured me father
Cotton had no intention to injure me, they intreated
me to allow the father to wait on me, and assure
me of the truth himself. I consented, and they
brought him the next day. This father told me,
that it was true, he had complained of having a
secret enemy, who opposed the establishment of a
college at Poitiers, but that he had no thought of
me. However, his majesty had understood that he
meant me, and made me believe so likewise : that al-
though

1605. though in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services. In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

It was probably in consequence of this reconciliation, that father Richeome of Bourdeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me : he takes notice in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable to the professors of my religion (for it treated of the the pilgrimage to Loretto) yet he had made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom indeed the highest elogiums were given in it ;) to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the roman catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day ; and reminded me of a little present he had made me the preceding year, which was a book, intituled *The Apologetic Remonstrance of the Jesuits to the King* *. I told him, in my answer, that knowing myself to be capable of loving even my enemies, his society might from thence judge what were my sentiments concerning those who professed themselves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wishes for wishes, and even book for book ; for I sent him the *Journey to Jerusalem*, in return for that of Loretto.

If any one doubts that these professions of esteem which were made me by the Jesuits were not sincere, let him suspend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to ascribe them to ; I will not omit any circumstances of the fact I am going to relate, as

* This is the last of that father's works against Antony Arnaud : he wrote many books with great success on behalf of his order.

I do not imagine they will seem tedious to the reader, since they concern persons so distinguished at court as the duke d'Epemon, and Grillon *, colonel of a regiment of guards. 1605.

Grillon had at first the same unfavourable sentiments for me with which almost all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the siege of Charbonnieres, during the war with Savoy, his friendship for me became stronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little

* Lewis Berto de Grillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of Dread-nought. I find in the life of the duke of Epemon a story very proper to be related along with what the duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The duke of Guise, to whom he had been sent after the reduction of "Marseilles, having a mind to try his courage, says the historian, "agreed with some gentlemen, to "give a sudden alarm before Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy "had been masters of the town; "at the same time he ordered two "horses to the door; and going "up into Grillon's room, told "him all was lost; that the enemy "were masters of the port and "town; that they had forced the "guards, and broke and put to "flight all that opposed them; that "finding it impossible to resist them "any longer, he thought it was "better for them to retreat, than "by suffering themselves to be "taken, add to the enemy's victory; that he had therefore ordered two horses to be brought, "which were ready at the door; "and desired he would make haste, "for fear they should give the enemy time to surprize them. Grillon was asleep when the alarm "was given, and was hardly a-

"wake whilst the duke of Guise "was saying this to him. However, without being at all disconcerted by so hot an alarm, he called for his cloaths and his arms, "saying, They ought not, on too "slight grounds, to give credit to all that was said of the enemy; "and, even if the account should "prove true, it was more becoming "men of honour to die with their "arms in their hands, than to survive the loss of the place. The "duke of Guise, not being able to "prevail on him to change this resolution, followed him out of the "room; but when they were got half way down stairs, not being able to contain himself any longer, he burst out a laughing; "by which Grillon discovered the trick that had been played him. He thereupon assumed a look "much sterner than when he only "thought of going to fight, and "squeezing the duke of Guise's "hand, said to him, swearing at the same time (for he always "began his discourse with the most "horrible oaths) Young man, never make it a jest to try the "courage of a man of honour; "for, by God I hadst thou made me betray any weakness, I "would have plunged my dagger "in thy heart: and then left him, "without saying a word more."

Page 176.

1605. town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to visit the quarter of the artillery, where I was; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was observing a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down, and myself and those that accompanied me were within reach of a battery, from whence the discharges began to be so frequent, that I resolved to defer doing the business I was about till a fitter opportunity, when we needed not uselessly endanger our lives. "How! *morbleu*, my grand master," said Grillon to me, with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you afraid of guns in the company of Grillon? *Arnidieu*! since I am here they will not dare to come nigh us; let us go to those trees I see about two hundred paces from hence, we may reconnoitre the ravelin there with less danger." "Let us go then, replied I, smiling, since we are trying who shall shew himself most mad; but since you are the oldest, I would willingly allow you to be the wisest also." Probably I should have done better to have paid no attention to what he said; however I took his hand, and led him so far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whistle strongly in our ears. "*Arnidieu*! said Grillon, these rogues have no regard to the grand master's baton, or the cross of the Holy Ghost, and may probably lame us; let us gain that range of trees and those hedges, which may shelter us; for, *par la-corbieu*, you are an honest fellow, and worthy to be grand master: I will, during my whole life, be one of the most faithful of your servants; let us vow an inviolable friendship to each other; do you promise me yours?" I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever shewn to any other person whatever, not even, as it was said, to the king himself; and this adventure,

adventure, which had given rise to it, he talked of to every one. 1605.

By what means I regained the duke of Epemon's friendship has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me and desired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I represented to him, that he had been paid already all he could with reason demand upon that account; and that what he farther required, was but a possession without a claim, or rather an usurpation, which his favour with Henry the third had given him an opportunity of committing (for this was a discovery I had lately made) and that I was resolved to cut it off for the future, unless he brought me an order from the king, by which this supplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epemon, offended at this discourse, complained to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that I was become his enemy. His majesty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I opposed the advice given by the count de Soissons, to arrest him with marechal Biron. This circumstance, which d'Epemon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impresson upon his mind. "Do you assure me, Sire, said he to the king, that it was from M. de Rosny I received this act of friendship?" "Yes, I assure you of it, replied this prince, for I am not used to lie, especially in things of consequence."

D'Epemon left Fontainebleau the same day, and set out for Paris in a hired coach, having sent one of his own before to Essonne, where it was to wait for him: I had left Paris in the same manner, his majesty having sent for me to Fontainebleau: d'Epemon and I met each other in a place over-against a chapel above Essonne; the duke ordered his coachman to stop, and called out to me, that he entreated
I would

1605. I would give him an opportunity to say one word to me: we both alighted. "I have too long," said he, approaching me, "been under a great obligation to you, without paying you those acknowledgements you merit from me." He then repeated what the king had just told him, and, in the transport of his gratitude, loaded me with praises and assurances of the most inviolable friendship. I replied with my usual sincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumstance he mentioned, since it was the business of every honest man to take the part of innocence, exclusive of all interest and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be still better convinced, that all my intentions, with respect to him, had been equitable, and more so than he had sometimes believed. This affair produced such a perfect good intelligence between us, that, eight days after, being upon the point of setting out for Guienne, d'Epernon made me a visit to request one of those little favours of me with which a man takes pleasure to oblige his friends.

The duke had been informed that some persons, who were enemies to him, earnestly solicited Grillon to resign his colonel's commission, in favour of another whom he had likewise as little reason to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his resigning this post till he returned from Guienne: and this I promised him. During d'Epernon's absence, his majesty was told some things to his disadvantage, which determined him to give the post to a man who was not so much devoted to the duke d'Epernon as Grillon: it was not with this view, that the affair was proposed to Grillon from the king, but because he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exercise of this employment, and was soon to take a journey to Provence, where his stay was likely to be very long. He was given to understand, that it was for these two reasons his majesty wished he would dispose

dispose of this employment, and promised to procure him a good price for it. 1605.

Grillon, singular and fantastic to the last degree, and already a little distempered in his brain, only shook his head without answering the three first times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards suspected, that it was I whom the king had in view to succeed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, asked me if it was not so, making me, at the same time, many offers of service; it was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it should be given me for nothing. "How!" returned Grillon immediately; "sure you do not think an employment which Grillon has possessed unworthy of you; *Arnibleau*, my grand master, you are very vain, for since I have filled it, it is worthy of the best of you." "I know, replied I, that one Grillon is of more value than a thousand Rosnys; but I have other reasons which hinder me from thinking of it." "Oh; very well, that is enough," said he: and then, without my solicitation, engaged not to resign it till I should advise him to it, and then only to that person who should be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a serious answer to any of the proposals that were made him on this subject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himself; he sent for him, and repeated the same arguments which were used to him before, to prevail upon him to resign a post, the duties of which were incompatible with the long stay he proposed to make in his native country, adding a thousand kind and obliging things upon the valour and services of Grillon. "By what I can understand, Sire, replied Grillon, you want me to quit your service, and that I should become absolutely papistical; for you know I am born a subject to the Pope."

1604.

“ Ah no, Grillon, replied his majesty, that is not my intention : ” then adding new reasons drawn from the nature of his employment, “ So then in good earnest, said Grillon to him again, you would have me resign my employment ; and since it is your desire, I will not do it, at least to the person for whom I hear it is designed.”

This speech indeed was no great indication of a sound mind ; he withdrew in a rage, but the king, who knew his humour, only laughed at him : he even took a resolution to speak to him no more of the matter, so little was this prince inclined to use any restraint to persons who had served him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and some other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them said, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were to employ d'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The king replied, that he would never dispose of it, at the solicitation of the duke d'Epernon ; neither did he desire that I should accept of it : but that he believed I would not refuse to entreat Grillon to yield it to the person he had in view. His majesty did not name this person, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompence for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet to come to me and propose it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At first I made no other answer to these gentlemen, than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair ; but upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them, with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the duke d'Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the king, he was immediately seized with so violent

1605.

violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before : doubtless the occasion of it would appear very slight, if I did not, at the same time, inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismissal from my employments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised every day against me, all which I shall particularise hereafter : for the present it is sufficient to say, that the poison had been so subtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I shall not here use the ordinary style of those who have suffered such trials, when they exclaim, with so much vehemence, against the ingratitude and injustice they have met with from princes ; I always suspect that such outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny against the absent successful, nothing more is requisite than to find the means of opening the mind to suspicion, and to those, who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewise every thing to foresee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and justify this suspicion. How many appearances of fidelity, are there so well disguised that truth itself could hardly assume any other face, especially before kings, from whom one would imagine she delights to conceal herself ? But are there not many ministers likewise, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their sovereigns ? To

1605.

all these considerations, Henry, on his side, added a too curious and too active research into all possible contingencies, wherein for the present or the future, any danger to the state might be apprehended; and I, on mine, too little solicitude to lessen his suspicion, which was not so much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conscience clear and irreproachable: it is not surprising therefore, that the artifices of my enemies, had made so deep an impression in the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, that any sovereign who imagines such a conduct necessary to support his interests and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by lessening himself that respect and deference which he ought to oblige his subjects to shew to those to whom he has confided those interests, and by whom that honour is maintained.

When the three men, whom the king had employed in the affair of Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had said, which had occasioned those transports of rage against me, Villeroi, Sillery, La Varenne, and father Cotton, came very seasonably for him to discharge this heavy burthen. I had no reason to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my stars; for he repeated my words to them, and his own sentiments upon them, with the most violent emotions of rage. "How!" said he to them, perceiving that they made him no answer, "you are silent, you say not a word; but by heaven, pursued he, all this looks ill; for since fire and water mingle so well together (it was d'Epemon and me whom he meant) there must be higher designs, at least on one side, than I could ever have imagined; but I shall take care to prevent them." It was absolutely in the power of those four persons, to whom the king addressed this discourse, to prevent these suspicions from going so far; one word only would have sufficed: but they took care not to say that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king's saying,

1605.


saying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the most useful servant he had, and that he should never cease to lament the loss of me, they, to add fuel to fire, under a feigned solicitude to alleviate his majesty's disquiet, began to praise, with the utmost ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the state had of me, and the dependance which that necessarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what ease I could put every thing in motion, without stirring out of my closet: praises which I neither merited in their good nor bad sense. Certainly envy can assume every disguise, since it can oblige men, not only to praise those whom they most abhor, but in their praises outdo flattery itself.

The four confidants had reason to applaud themselves for this last stroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the king's anger against me, but only to mix with it the strongest emotions of jealousy, distrust, and apprehension: that this was the state of his mind they were well assured, when he told them, that, if I resigned myself up to the ambitious desire of becoming head of a party, my credit was so great, and my friends so numerous, that I was able to do the state more harm, than admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more necessary to be done, but to suffer those black suspicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the prince, after having thus instilled the poison into his heart. Henry, in this state of mind, was no longer capable either of secrecy or art; he spoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noise of my disgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

1605.



I had likewise many friends there, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practising against me by my enemies, and of what was said by the king. I am not sure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occasion as I had already done on many others of the same nature, in which Henry of himself returned from his suspicions and disgusts, to his usual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetally employed in supporting itself by proofs, and exaggerate its merit by praises: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honest shame at being obliged to secure that elevation by methods less worthy; yet it is evident on many occasions, that if virtue is not assisted by chance and industry, her own strength is not sufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majesty had not yet fixed, for any considerable time, in any of his palaces, but had consumed the months of January and February in journeys to Saint-Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, staying but a short time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, was at Chantilly. I shall not transcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to justify; it contained only general assurances of innocence, and arguments simple indeed and unstudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I observed to his majesty, that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his service, the favours I had received from him had been but very small, although I had been at considerable expences; yet since that consideration, the lowness of my fortunes, and the prospect of a decent establishment elsewhere, which might have given
some

some excuse for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do so; it was not credible I should do so now, when I saw myself so generously rewarded, when my fortune could only encrease, and when so many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person, than my offices and employments. It was not probable therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one half of these advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune: that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I could not clear myself, in two words, whenever his majesty informed me of it; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him: but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon solid proofs: that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me; being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which case I was ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, chusing rather the obscurity of a private life with his favour, than the splendor of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I was convinced, by the answer which his majesty sent me, that the informations I had received were not false; he addressed me in it with the title of cousin instead of friend: though short, it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circum-

1605.  spection and reserve, which was not usual with him, ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place : the king only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my business to suffer the world to talk of me as it pleased, and continue to serve him well. I pretended, however, to be satisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was necessary upon this occasion, conscious of my own innocence, I was persuaded that eagerness and precipitation did not become me ; I therefore waited till his majesty was willing to enter into a discussion of the affair with me, and continued to act as usual.

The king, after staying at Chantilly six or seven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his presence was necessary : he began to have a fondness for the former, from whence also he wrote to me, that he was much better in health (as I should perceive by his countenance as soon as I saw him ;) that he eat and slept well there, never rising before seven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at least, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was mistaken ; he took not the smallest notice of it, although he stayed there eight days, and four mornings successively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tuilleries : Villeroi and Sillery indeed were present. After giving us all the necessary orders, he set out for Fontainebleau, still keeping up the same reserve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I observed a little before, that they supplied all which was yet wanting to make his majesty resolve my ruin ; and, as he staid there during the whole months of April and May, they had time sufficient to effect their purpose, and brought him to the point we have already seen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguished the sooner, if no more fuel be added

to

to it; and it is not so easy to support it as some have 1605.
imagined, especially with princes who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate like Henry's, the passions once inflamed will, at first, carry them very far from their purpose, but never so far but that they may be brought back by reason: and from dispositions like these one will have violent fits of anger to sustain; but to make amends, there is neither obstinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor studied artifices to apprehend. It was this reason which induced me to wait with more patience than I should otherways have done, for the issue of an affair so complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in those short excursions I made from time to time to Fontainbleau, I appeared always the same. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themselves, although so fully persuaded of my innocence, that all of them would have willingly become sureties for my conduct: they expressed great surprise at his majesty's behaviour to me, and could not keep silence at court, and probably in secret taxed the prince with injustice. All the kind offices of sincere and affectionate relations I received from the family of Lorraine upon this occasion.

At length my wishes and expectations were answered: the king finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced against me, he began to fear he had been a little too hasty: my past services rose to his remembrance; my present conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts: he was struck with all this, and regreted that he had suffered any expressions of anger to escape him, being convinced that nothing was more just and reasonable than the request I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau,

1605. tainebleau, he sent La Varenne, D'Escures, and Beringhen, to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity; however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroi and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose, which I was convinced of as soon as I found that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence, that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themselves; this was about a dispatch from Ancel*, who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others: they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission, and like true mediators: they turned the conversation, from business, to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortification ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must give to a man of honour: they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniences under the reigning king.

I saw clearly enough, that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art on their side, as made it evident they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime, when they made their report to his majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride: I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not doubt but that there were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his majesty was too just and too good, to treat, in that

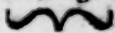
* William Ancel, master of the household, resident at Vienna,

manner,

manner, such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as for example I believed my own to be; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I should still think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners; but they had recourse to other artifices to force from me some expression of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all, and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapt up in reserve, that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy to judge what these two gentlemen would have said, if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but was fully determined not to open myself, on this subject, to the king himself, unless he led to it first: and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I waited on his majesty as usual, to receive his orders before I went away; I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chace. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me goodmorrow, ceremoniously calling me monsieur: all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, My friend Rosny, or Grand master; but that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know what he did, he struck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one against the other, convinced me that I was not mistaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor disgust in this behaviour. I had likewise

1605.



1605. likewise made him a much more profound bow than usual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him so much, that it was with difficulty he could restrain himself from falling that instant upon my neck. He continued musing some moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chase, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, surprised at this sudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with some emotion; "I will not ride this morning, take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a conversation, directing himself sometimes to one, sometimes to another, and chusing such subjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of speaking: but observing I was still silent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M. Le Grand, said he, let us walk, I would talk with you a little, that you may set out to-day on your journey to Burgundy." They had some private business together, which related chiefly to some idle tales and quarrels of women.

When they came to the door of the little staircase which leads to the queen's garden, the king called L'Oserai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him observe whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I staid in the same place during the whole time that his majesty was talking to M. Le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie; but I observed that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king, I advanced, and desired to know if his majesty had any orders for me. "And where are you going?" said he. "To Paris, sire, replied I, upon the business you spoke to me of two days since." "Well, go then, replied the king; I still recommend to you the care of my affairs, and desire that you should continue to love me." I bowed low; he embraced me as usual, and I took

took the road to my own house; but scarce was I 1605.
got to the distance of three hundred paces, when
looking back I saw La-Varenne running after me,
crying, Monsieur, the king would speak with you.
His majesty, seeing me return, struck into the road
which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while
I was yet at a distance, "Come hither, said he:
"have you nothing to say to me?" "No, sire,
"I replied, not at present." "Well then, I have
"something to say to you," answered he with pre-
cipation; and taking my hand, led me into the
grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two
Swiss centinels, who did not understand French, to
be placed at the entrance of the canals which sur-
rounded the grove.

The king began by embracing me twice in a most
affectionate manner, which the courtiers easily per-
ceived, for we were within view, and they carefully
watched all our gestures; then calling me friend,
and resuming his former familiarity with me, he
told me with a look and accent which went to my
heart, that the coldness and reserve with which we
had for a month past behaved towards each other,
must needs be very painful to two persons who, for
three and thirty years, had been accustomed to the
most unlimited confidence, and that it was time to
deprive those who were the cause of it of an occasion
of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred
of me, and the envy with which they beheld his
and his kingdom's increasing prosperity. The heart
of this good prince opening as he spoke to me, he
added, that, earnestly desiring we should both forget
what had happened, he thought it necessary to leave
me ignorant of nothing that had passed on his side,
either with respect to the informations which had
been given him against me, the effects they had
produced in his mind, and lastly, the words and
actions by which he had made these unfavourable
impressions public. He intreated, commanded, and
made me promise to follow the example he was going
to

1605.

to give me, to discover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my sentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itself, with the same unreserved freedom he should use towards me; "That before we leave this place, said he, our minds may be wholly freed from doubts and suspicion, and both perfectly satisfied with each other; therefore as I shall open my whole heart freely to you, I must intreat you will not disguise yours from me." I gave him my word of honour that I would most faithfully obey this injunction.

The king then began first, by naming all those persons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occasion, as well in effects as words, among which there were some of all ranks and ages, and many who had served his majesty as long as myself; these I believe I may divide into seven classes; in the first I shall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the second, the king's mistresses, with their children, and such as either through the ties of blood or friendship supported their interests and served their passions, among these were Cœuvres, Fresnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the marchioness of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated these two classes against me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was composed of the partisans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whose politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this class was encreased by many members of the council, Villeroi, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jesuits: in the fourth I comprehend all the petit-maitres, court-favourites, and idle insignificant persons, who load Paris with an useless weight; these were actuated by their resentment against me, for preventing his majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposition

sition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs ; 1605. the number of these is too great, and themselves too contemptible, to fill the paper with their names : the fifth was made up of the seditious and malecontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise œconomy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin : the financiers and other men of business made up the sixth, and they indeed had no reason to be much my friends.

The seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned ; these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money ; men for the most part formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once shining fortune remained, than the detestable science of impoverishing the people ; which for their own interest, and by an effect of a long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majesty ; but finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them, since his majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art which discovered dispositions nearly the same ; this was, to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and be the venal instruments of those who either durst not or would not appear themselves in the satirical libels which filled the court ; it was by them that these contemptible pieces were composed, spread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated ; the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively sallies of wit, opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an easy and spirited conversation. Although he was perhaps upon his guard against their malignant strokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of those whom at first he had despised or banished from his presence, found means afterwards to make themselves be heard.

In

1605. In this list would be found none but names so obscure, that they do not deserve to be raked from the dust, such as Juvigay, Parafis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Berfot, Longuet, Chalange, Versenai, Santeny, &c. if Sancy, who merits the first place among them, had not completed his own dishonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and excess had left him no other resource. He was obliged to sell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, because he was not willing they should go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchase them.

The king, after recounting the names of the authors, gave me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could devise, when animated by an eager desire to destroy, was practised by them; where-ever the king turned his steps, he saw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the same kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they presented him, under shew of zeal for the state, and affection for his person; these papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow; they caused them to be presented to him by persons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his sleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, became gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me, that he was so imposed upon by these artifices, that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me; and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their intentions, that at the very time when he
seemed

seemed so weary of that infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them; yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cause them to be read to him.

It must necessarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me; as for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjust to those that served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to; they likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him, in writing to me on all these occasions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice, or a mark of his dependance. It was by these insinuations they began at first; and while they went no farther, the king, who found only new occasions to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me; but to put these critics to silence, he only required summaries of the state debts which I had discharged to shew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity I severely reprov'd those persons for their too free censures, while, under a false pretence of being denied justice, they suffered expressions to escape them in their rage, with which his majesty had good reason to be offended. But they soon left these slight accusations for others of greater consequence.

Henry, to excuse the credulity with which he had believed these slanders, would have me judge myself of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a tedious task to read them all, he fixed upon one * which Juvigny had shewn him

* This book was intituled, A bold for those times, when all political discourse, shewing the truths were not allowed to be king in what respects his majesty spoke; it nevertheless did not is ill served. "It was privately contain any thing against the " handed about at Paris, says " king or his service, but many " l'Etoile, in MS. The style " things against M. de Rosny." " of it was somewhat free and

1605.



twelve days before, and which had been made public, because in this all the different calumnies which were scattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be: there was indeed some little intricacy in it, but it was writ, however, with a sufficient force of style and judgment to persuade his majesty that it proceeded from some other hand than Juvigny, whose powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me, that by reading it I might possibly help him to find out the author, whose name he would be glad to know. I received it from his majesty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his presence. The reader, if he pleases, may here see the substance of it, for it is not my intent to conceal any part of it.

The author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever need of such a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himself of all suspicion of envy or prejudice: the great qualities of Henry, the happiness which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous situation of his affairs, made a second preamble very proper to captivate the good-will of this prince, and still more to lead naturally to the accusation he was to make against me, of having insolently boasted, that this happiness was my sole work; and from thence, with great art, introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in designs pernicious to the sovereign and the state. A crowd of examples, eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

From thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticize my manners; and in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house, found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs; and added, that the number of persons, from the
princes

1605.


princes of the blood, down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which by this studied civility I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partisans, which could not indeed but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon, was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour which in France it is the custom to treat every one with: the prince of Conti and the duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list, then the whole family of Lorraine; several French lords came next: my reconciliation with the duke of Epemon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of an union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazon, de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint-Geran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubetterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons whom I attached to my interest by the distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made amongst them of part of his majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others.

All this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expression which fell from the king of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, *That the king of France was happy in having me*, and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majesty, but likewise the States-general of the United Provinces, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the marquisses of Anspach, Dourlach, and Baden were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me, was construed into a criminal intrigue.

1605.

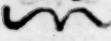
trigue. All the protestant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetian senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests.

After having thus made the first essay with accusations which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more hardy, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondences in foreign countries alone; but by sending his majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Swisserland, I was laying up for myself immense sums, in order to retire there one day, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiss, German horse, and Lansquenets, to support the protestant religion, and; after the example of admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubtless was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularized this event as if he was already a witness of it; he alledged, that by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores for his majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the king to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majesty, to confide no longer to one person the management of his revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs; but to associate with me some persons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

While I was reading this memorial Henry observed me with great attention, but finding that I

read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, what do you think of it?" said he. "What is your opinion of it, sire?" replied I, you that have read it more than once, and kept it so long in your hands; "for my part, I am not so much surpris'd at these sort of writings, which in effect are nothing but the trifling production of foolish and wicked men, as to find that so great a king, possess'd of so much wisdom, courage, and goodness, and who has known me for so many years, would have patience to read them himself, and hear me read them throughout in his presence, without at least shewing by his anger the violence he did himself in listening to such calumnies, and without ordering the authors to be sought for to punish them severely."

After having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments of me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confin'd myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being oblig'd to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I oppos'd those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for those princes who would be good and great to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and favourites ungrateful, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had la-

1605.  boured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I defied them to produce a single person, whether a friend or kinsman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his majesty. Against the traiterous designs they imputed to me, of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given on every occasion to the ill designs of the protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

Besides, what advantage could I promise myself from these chimerical schemes, which I did not at present possess in the greatest and most honourable station to which any subject could aspire? what could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head; my enemies themselves did not accuse me of such a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family, altho' it were in my power to dispose of it, on whom could I fix my choice, but the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, consecrated all my labours and my services, and for whose interest I had shed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they insinuated, did I still bend my whole cares to the increase of his glory, by those noble designs which if I did not suggest, I was at least the sole confidant and promoter of? if I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his person, why did I so earnestly seek to engage him in all those alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? was not this acting directly against myself? is it by pursuing such measures as these, that ambitious and designing subjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the state? was it not rather by enervating the mind of their master, soothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his passions, prevailing on him to violate the laws,

laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of the state into confusion? whereas I was continually laying before his majesty the state of his affairs, informing him of the use and destination of his money, and carrying my solicitude for order and œconomy so far, as to reproach him with even the smallest needless expence: I amassed him treasure, filled his magazines and arsenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himself formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious subjects act, when they secretly undermine the foundations of their sovereign's power. The conduct of ministers is always equivocal in some part or other; however, I may truly say, that mine might stand the test of the strictest examination.

It was easy for me to perceive that his majesty felt all the force of these arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the most fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed nor disguised from him any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed these assurances by the most sacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered rashly; I addressed him by all those reverenc'd and tender epithets which had, at all times, been the expressions of my zeal and attachment to his person. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not suffer it, lest those who beheld this posture might imagine I had recourse to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he sincerely repented of his too easy belief, and that he would never remember what was passed, but to impress upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the result of a conference which had been so necessary to restore quiet to us both.

Those who have any knowledge of a court, may easily guess the emotions that agitated the hearts of the courtiers, during a conversation which lasted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were observed; for though it was

1605.

not possible for them to hear what we said, yet they could not be ignorant of the subject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had used at the beginning of our conversation, the papers he had taken with him, the earnest manner in which we seemed to discourse, was sufficient to inform them of the rest; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the result of so important an explanation between us.

Henry was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out to the grove of mulberry trees holding me by the hand, and asked this crowd of courtiers who were got together, what it was o'clock; they answered it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have so," said the prince, in an accent which spread a paleness on every cheek; "but there are some present who are more weary than I am: however, to console them, I here declare before you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than ever, and that our friendship will continue till death; and you, my friend," pursued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and serve me, for I am fully satisfied with you." Many others in the same situation I was would have * made use of their returning favour and interest, to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace; but I thank heaven that I have not the reproach to make myself, of having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the king said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted

* The *seigneur de Juvigny* or *Di-vigny*, a French gentleman, author of the abovementioned memorial, suffered for all the rest: a prosecution was carried on against him

for high treason, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated; but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my ^{1605.} opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

That I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the king, concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Crequy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguières, his majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase*. This drew many acknowledgments to me from the father-in-law and the son. Crequy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lesdiguières wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me, made every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or received so many bad offices from, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongst courtiers.

The heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope that supported my enemies amidst the mortifications and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret

* Henry IV. though extremely dissatisfied with the duke of Epemon, who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice he pretended the king had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Crequy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before

him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The duke of Epemon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. History of the duke of Epemon, p. 112.

1605.

I say it) were almost as successful as before *: the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, because it was sooner followed by an explanation, and it is needless to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleasure of believing that I should sink under their efforts, yet they were soon undeceived, and those ineffectual attempts but increased their shame and rage; and had I been of a disposition to enjoy such victories, this last, being not less complete than the other, would have afforded me sufficient matter for triumph: it was likewise at Fontainebleau, that the king and I came to an explanation of this second difference; and the morning afterwards the king sent for me very early. As soon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a cross-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having somewhat to impart to me in private; but as we passed, he said aloud, in the presence of the whole court, " You cannot conceive, my friend, " how easily and happily I slept this night, after " having opened my heart to you, and had all my

* " The king," says le Grain, b. vii. " advanced the duke of Sully in such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient authority over him; and who knows but it might perhaps be a prudential measure in the king, thus to expose him to the hatred of many, against whom he was very able to protect him, in order to keep him under apprehensions of what might be the effects of his failing in his duty." This passage in our Memoirs seems, at first sight, to offer something in favour of this conjecture: the opinion of those nevertheless, who think there was no artifice in the suspicions Henry IV. conceived against the duke of Sully appears to me better founded; but whether his suspicions were feigned or real, I also think, as many other persons of sense do,

that they ought to be reckoned among that prince's defects. According to the first supposition, a low cunning unbecoming the character of so great a king is apparent; and according to the second, a piece of injustice, for which the first movements of a hasty passion would be no excuse, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his minister, that the first should overlook, in the character of the other, that firmness and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a base submission and flattery, in consideration of a fidelity established on such numberless proofs. This is a sufficient evidence, that the performance of the most important services will not dispense a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the most perfect.

" doubts

"doubts cleared up." He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

1605.

In the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me was, that however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes by their insinuations make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter, amidst those very storms I have mentioned *. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me to reject the duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been proposed by the princess Catharine to the dutchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewise because monsieur and madam de

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645, set up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her son by the duke of Rohan who died seven years before: "Many persons of credit, says Amelot, who have seen Tancred (the name of this pretended heir to the house of Rohan) have assured me, that he had the topping of the Rohan family, which is a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features of his face were re-

"markably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Signior for this child: it was also said, that his father and mother had kept him concealed only that they might marry their daughter to the count of Soissons, and afterwards the duke of Weimar. See these curious fables in Amelot de La-Houffaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chypre.

Fervaques

1605. Fervaques had so earnestly solicited his interest in favour of Laval, that he had promised them to give him to me for a son-in-law, rather than the duke of Rohan, who was not so rich indeed, but had the honour to be so nearly related to him, that, if he died without children, as the princess his sister had done, the duke of Rohan would succeed to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other estates of the families of Albert, Foix, and Armagnac : he then added, that, for other reasons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I should break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my resolution, he desired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in such a manner, that the breaking off the match should appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to say they had refused an alliance with me. He added, that he would himself bring the duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the dutchess his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my son-in-law within three days, having already settled every thing relating to the marriage himself; that he would have the contract drawn up in his presence, and would sign it as the kinsman of both parties.

I thanked his majesty for the interest he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thousand crowns for the wedding-clothes and expences, and the like sum to my daughter. The year before, I had married mademoiselle Du-Marais, my wife's daughter by her first husband, to La-Boulaye, the son of him whom Henry had loved so much : she had no reason to expect any other gratuity from his majesty, than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the title of a present for the nuptial robe, and had been settled at two thousand crowns :

crowns: the king raised it to five thousand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account. 1605.

It was usual with his majesty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expences in fortifications and buildings, to say to me, in the presence of the officers employed in those works, who attended to know his pleasure concerning farther improvements in them, "Well, you see my fortifications and buildings are resolved upon, what have you done to your houses?" To which, when I replied, as I seldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money; he would answer, "Well, shew me your plans, that I may know what you would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be necessary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thousand livres to enable me to make those alterations he pointed out to me.

However, I sometimes requested favours of him which he refused to grant, and I shall not have the vanity to conceal it: he would not give the post which had formerly been the baron de Lux's to my brother, or to La-Curée, for either of whom I requested it; telling me, that for Bethune, he designed a post in Brittany which would suit him better; and that as for La-Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the post of lieutenant of a company of light-horse, and the government of Chinon, which he already possessed. The truth was, he chose to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater service in the province. I asked the other favours of him in the same letter, the one for my nephew de Melun, and the other for La-Boulaye: he told me, that La Boulaye had not yet, by his services, merited such an instance of his bounty, but he granted the other, which was, the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refusal from him, if it may be called

1605. led so, in which my son-in-law the duke of Rohan was concerned: the occasion of it was this:

The duke of Rohan was governor of Saint-John d'Angely, of which place Des Ageaux was the king's lieutenant: it was not the governor, to whom in justice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his majesty, who thought it necessary, for the good of his service, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troublesome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in some degree be independent of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he should not use it to the king's satisfaction, and for the advantage of the state. The lieutenant therefore was, in reality, possessed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The duke of Rohan, who earnestly wished to have this prerogative restored to the governor, entreated me to solicit the king for that purpose, a favourable opportunity offering itself by the sickness of Des Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my son-in-law this service, I durst not make the proposal to the king directly, the request having too much conformity with that state of dependence into which my enemies had insinuated. I sought to place all the * protestant cities: nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his suspicions. I resolved therefore to sound him first upon the subject, which I did very artfully, taking occasion, upon the news of Des Ageaux's sickness, to ask his majesty whom he had thought of to supply his place if he died: it was by letters that I made this

* It is said in the Hist. de la mere & du fils, vol. I. p. 15, that Henry IV. refused the duke of Sully the government of Saint-Maixant, which the queen herself, at the duke's request, desired of the king for him, saying, Prudence would not permit the mak-

ing a Calvinist master of that place, small as it was. If any thing could make one doubt of the truth of this fact besides M. de Sully's silence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province must be sufficient.

attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majesty's answer. The king, in his answer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint-John, because it would not always be the duke of Rohan, nor my son-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Poussou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering of his sickness, no farther steps were taken in the affair. 1605.

Before I quit this article of marriage, I shall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to mademoiselle de Melun my niece, whom they thought likewise of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the marchioness de Roubaix my aunt having made her her sole heir.

The family of D'Estrées cast their eyes on her for a wife to De Cœuvres †; they thought themselves sure of the king's interest; and the affair was proposed to him by M. de Vendome himself, to whom the king promised that he would speak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvreen-Paris, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms which shewed how earnestly he desired the marriage might be concluded.

I wrote to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemmings; but the answer they gave me being such as I neither ought nor could repeat to my sovereign, I sent him none at all; and when at his return he asked me the reason, I only told him, that mademoiselle de Melun's relations did not approve of the proposed alliance. The king supposing that it was myself who answered for them, and that I had not wrote to them about the affair, I was obliged to shew him the letters I had received from the mar-

† Francis-Hannibal D'Estrées, marquis of Cœuvres, duke and peer and marechal of France,

1605. *chionefs de Roubais, the prince and princefs de de Ligne, the princefs d'Epinoÿ, the countefs de Barlemont, and the counts de Fontenay, and de Buquoy, who had all written to me upon the ſame ſubject. Henry, in theſe letters, finding, what I would not tell him, that notwithstanding the honours he had conferred on the houſe of D'Eſtrées, they thought it beneath their alliance, "I ſee," ſaid this prince with ſome reſentment, "that ſince we have to do with all theſe proud Flemiſh fools, we muſt think no more of it."* Accordingly the affair went no farther, his majeſty being reſolved not to meddle in it any more.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

